

It seems to me that the first purpose to which a reconstructed Judaism should address itself should be the raising of a healthy, sane and intelligent Jewish stock. It is doubtful whether these middle class Jews will leave behind them enough progeny to be worth any effort at holding them to Judaism. They are being wiped out by a most devastating kind of race suicide. It is tragic to observe their sense of distorted values. A husband will present his wife with an automobile the upkeep of which costs as much as maintaining two children in luxury, but will dread the idea of her having or adopting children. Not a syllable is ever breathed at Jewish conventions and Rabbinic assemblies about any of these tragic facts in Jewish life.

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Sunday, August 11, 1929, West End, N.J.

Morally our people are an extremely variegated lot. This fact even I with my limited personal contacts am made aware of. Of course since my contacts are limited I gather much of my information from hearsay, but I consider the hearsay dependable.

The Munchins who have been associated with the SAJ are in the jewelry business. He is an honest man, hard working, unaggressive observant of traditional customs and religiously minded. His wife is shrewd in her business dealings, conservative in her religiosity and gossipy in her social relationships although on the whole a fairly intelligent and kindly person. Their business naturally brings her in contact with men and women as they are engaged in the sex hunt in which jewelry is the usual form of bait. According to her version of life the spawn of indecency is spread over the majority of our younger set. The lust for jewelry finds in sex lust a tool for gratification. As a girl becomes engaged she gets a valuable stone as a gift. If she breaks the engagement she has to return the ring.

She therefore goes through with the marriage, gets up some love affair, obtains a divorce and thus retains her engagement ring.

According to Mrs. Munchin we should encourage gossip because it is the only means we have of exposing the wickedness of men who by reason of their wealth play an important role in the community. That this sophistry is quite transparent, but it was made more so by her following up her generalization with the case of a man who is now down and out. Kinstler who was engaged in business similar to her husband's was formerly a member of the SAJ. I learned to know him when he lost his wife and found him to be of the ignorant and superstitious type that leave their children spiritually maladjusted to life in general and to Judaism in particular. Now I learn that he has been crooked in business, went through illegal failures and is down with consumption.

In contrast with these types of moral corruption we have cases of eccentricity. One such case is that of Elias Cohen. When as a child I attended services at the Eldridge St. Synagogue, his father, David, was president. His father was of a florid complexion, his face was circled by a thick short reddish beard; his eyes were gray green; his talk and bearing were that of a bully. My father would always refer to him as "Cohenke der Gazlan." In course of time David Cohen moved uptown and became the president of the Uptown Talmud Torah. He was arrogant and overbearing to the end. I recall how I hated the very sight of Elias when I was about ten years old. This antipathy has remained with me as the bullying disposition has remained with Elias. He has been a well to do realtor expert and aggressive in his business. He has never married. When I met him after a long lapse of time about seventeen years ago it was to hear him talk impudently at some of the Nehillah meetings and denounce Zionism as irreligious and un-American. I understand that to this day he is a sworn anti-Zionist.

With all his arrogance he does not seem to be altogether self-centered, or he would not have been identified as a trustee with Jacob Kohn's congregation for whom he helped build the new synagogue. But this is the ^{least} ~~xxx~~ of his good works. He maintains at his own expense a Talmud Torah for over 500 children, and during the summer he maintains a camp where each of these children -- the poorest of the poor -- is given a two weeks' opportunity to enjoy the open and take part in all of the usual camp activities. He doesn't merely supply the funds, but devotes himself in person unstintedly to both of these undertakings.

How narrow, one-sided and sheltered an existence I lead may be inferred from the fact that yesterday was the first time I met and spoke to a live divorcee who told me about some of her troubles with her former husband. The woman that came to see me is Rose Jayne and her former husband is Dr. Blondheim, professor of Romance languages at Johns Hopkins. According to her story which is based upon what Blondheim told her, Blondheim had fallen in love with a Christian instructor at one of the universities, but was inhibited from marrying the Christian woman by his family traditions. He then met this Rose Jayne who, about twelve or fourteen years ago was a very good looking and pious. So anxious was he to have children who would be given a Jewish training that he imagined he loved her and that get married. After she gave birth to a boy he left this country to continue his studies in Paris. When he came back he refused to live with her. The reason he now gives is that he felt himself so much superior to her that he realized he could never have really loved her. "I was a pasha, a bey, a ghar, and you are only a first grade teacher of a fifth grammar school class," he recently had occasion to say to her.

She finally obtained her divorce and was given custody of the boy. He was to pay her alimony and toward the support of the boy. He is almost seven years in arrears of her alimony and irregular in his payment of the boy's maintenance. She, on the other hand, is anxious that the boy who is now eleven and has a wonderful head on him, should be guided by his father in the education that he is to get. The father seems to be emotionally unstable, at times manifesting an interest in the child and at other times ignoring him completely. Mrs. Blondheim (she still uses his name) asked my advice as to whether she should press her former husband to pay what he owes her and to make him take an interest in the child. I haven't the least idea what would be the best course for her to pursue. I merely put her off by saying that I would think the matter over.

(When the trouble arose between them he would say to her that she should not have expected any better treatment from him. "Philologists' wives either go insane or get divorced.")

While visiting the Klebans (members of the S&J) this afternoon we happened to speak about Pollack who is the president of the Bronx Congr. Ahilath Israel of which Louis Finkelstein is rabbi. I met Pollack only once or twice but was impressed by the fact that he was an unusual combination of piety and gentlemanliness. Kleban also dilated upon Pollack's virtues. As illustration he mentioned the curious fact that although Pollack doesn't smoke he always carries with him matches to accommodate anyone in a company who may want to smoke but unable to obtain a light. (Later I learned that this is a common practice with salesmen.)

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Monday, August 12, 1929, West End, N.J.

I am at work at the present time on a chapter in which I want to point out what the Jewish civilization is in need of nowadays in order to acquire something of that significance which it had for the Jew when he regarded it as divinely revealed. Among the things it is in need of are¹⁾ literary material, occasions and intellectual leadership that will stimulate the cultivation of an ethical outlook, and 2) a code of law which will enlarge the scope and bring up to date the enforceable standards of social behavior. The need of expatiating on the first requirement has led me to read Felix Adler's An Ethical Philosophy of Life and the need of dealing with the second, Cardozo's The Paradoxes of Legal Science. I haven't finished reading either of those books but I have read sufficiently to note that Cardozo has a great legal learning and a philosophic grasp in addition to the power of clear exposition. Adler is, on the whole, ethereal, elusive and mystifying, though at times he is highly edifying and even inspiring. Instead of having thoroughly digested, assimilated and forgotten Kant he still belches Kant's philosophy. I have never understood what he means by the universe of infinite spirit although I heard him speak about it twenty odd years ago when I listened to the first course of lectures that he gave at Columbia. What he speaks of as Univerre he could very well have designated as God. The fact that it is at variance with the Theistic conception of God should not have stood in the way, any more than the Theistic conception of sin stands in the way of his using the term sin. When he is off his guard he will resort to the most extravagant homiletic license to establish identity between a thesis of his and a biblical thought. Compare, e.g. his interpretation of the "Tree of Knowledge" that made man like unto God. I must therefore ascribe his refusal to apply to the God idea the principle of identity in change to some extraneous personal cause.

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The entire get up of the book shows poor taste and poor judgment, the former in the obtrusion of his personality, the latter in the insertion into the text (like his argument with Kant) what should have formed a postscript or note and placing as notes what should have formed part of the text.

Now to proceed with my own work: Judaism as a Way of Life

Having interpreted the ascription of supernatural origin to the Torah as pointing (from a pragmatic point of view) to the sense of supreme worth^{with} which the Jews regarded their civilization we are confronted with the task of either perpetuating our spiritual heritage in the form in which it has been handed down to us or developing and enhancing it to a point at which it will evoke from us that high regard which our fathers entertained for it.

(In rewriting this I have omitted the first three pages. Being the first draft it naturally began with a lot of redundancies.

April 8, 1930)

There is intrinsic merit in a people holding its civilization in high esteem whether or not the civilization deserves it. The very attitude of appraisal (though it may temporarily express itself in the wrong appraisal) implies the desire to have the civilization measure up to universal standards of fitness. This desire it is which acts (though mostly in covert fashion) as a principle of criticism compelling the civilization to revise its standards in case they have fallen below those of universal fitness. Moreover, the work which a people attaches to its civilization is an index of the degree to which that people has achieved a collective consciousness and will. As a psychic entity that exists above the sum of individual minds a collective consciousness does not exist, but as an externalized reality just as Plato's dialogues are an externalization

of Plato's mind (which externalization is in a sense Plato's mind still at work) a collective mind exists and functions through the people's civilization. A people that values its civilization is like an author who values his book or an artist his painting. It seems almost self-contradictory to assume that a people should have evolved a civilization and not value it. A people's manner of life cannot be said to have become a civilization unless it include manifestations of a self-conscious and evaluating attitude.

It would seem that if a civilization dies out it is only because its people are constrained to abandon it under the threat of death or because they consider it inferior to some other civilization. The fact, however, is that most of those who adopt an alien civilization are moved by considerations of personal advantage, as that of associating with those in power. If they conclude that the civilization which they abandon is of inferior worth, it is merely to justify their own actions. Likewise it is not altogether correct to infer when a people's civilization survives under circumstances of challenge both political and intellectual that it is due to the people being convinced of the superiority of that civilization. This conviction is often accompanied by a process of reinterpretation or reconstruction. If there are elements in the minority civilization which seem inferior to the majority civilization they are reinterpreted or revalued. Where that process is not feasible the objectionable element is removed. The prohibition of polygamy among the Jews is a case in point. We may then accept as a general principle that in an environment of challenge a civilization's values are reaffirmed or reconstructed as a means of justifying the people's collective will to live. Consequently it is not the inherent worth of a civilization that determines the people's will to live but rather the will to live that determines and if necessary creates the worth of a civilization. But this will to live cannot exist as an empty

abstraction. The only form it can assume is that of a sense of worth which finds its satisfaction in the civilization, and which, as we have seen, must have its satisfactions included as very part of the civilization.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that a civilization like Judaism which incorporate so high a sense of worth as that symbolized by the doctrine of divine origin indicates an intensive will-to-live which must necessarily find expression not only in discovering the civilization's inherent worth but also in adding to that worth wherever the civilization happens to fall ^{below} ~~below~~ the standards of universal fitness.

From the standpoint of inner worth Jewish life and thought constitute far less of a problem in revaluation than in augmentation. It is not the out of dateness of Jewish values that endangers Judaism, but their paucity. A civilization must not only be true and good but also adequate. Adequacy means that if a person chooses to live by that civilization only, he can find in it enough opportunity for self-expression to become the equal of the human product of any other civilization. The task for the Jewish people today is to render the Jewish civilization so adequate that if any Jew would choose to be a Jew only, he would find in the Jewish civilization sufficient means to become the equal of the child of the English, French or German Civilizations. This adequacy the Torah possessed for the Jew in the past. To possess it now it must be conceived humanistically as a civilization and supplied the territory which can afford that civilization sufficiently free scope to be at least as humanizing as the most progressive civilizations of the present time. If for the third time in this argument (the other two times being in the course of revaluation of the Israel and the God idea) we are driven to the inevitability of Palestine as a Jewish homeland, it is because we

feel keenly the poverty of Judaism for life today, even assuming we have succeeded in bringing its traditional values into line with the highest aspirations of modern times. The spiritual heritage of the Jew may be compared to wealth in the form of foreign coin. The first step is to exchange it into current coin. But even current coin cannot feed or house a person. The necessities of life have to be procured. Torah corresponded in ancient times not to current coin but to the necessities of life. Likewise its equivalent Judaism or Jewish civilization must embrace all that a Jew requires to become a fully civilized human being. It is evident that to become that Judaism must have a land of its own.

The survival of Judaism in the Diaspora is contingent upon the Jews outside of Palestine endeavoring to live Judaism as a civilization to the maximum degree compatible with their physical, economic and mental powers as well as with the national spirit of the countries they live in assuming that spirit to be fashioned by the ideal of internationalism. With the infinite diversity of temperament, training, beliefs, callings and interests and with the wide range of conceptions of life, the universe and God, that are bound to obtain among Jews Judaism must afford as vast a variety of opportunities for self-expression as a Jew as other civilizations afford to those that live by them. It is not to be expected that even under the most favorable circumstances that rich variety in content which Judaism will henceforth require will be fed by Jewish life in the Diaspora. Language, literature, the arts, social standards and values which are to constitute Jewish civilization will thrive chiefly in a Jewish Homeland. But it would be a serious mistake to assume that Judaism in the Diaspora can afford to become a passive reflection of Judaism in Palestine. There is room for creativity in many fields of Jewish life even if it be to a limited degree, in the

Diaspora, creativity which in some instances may even influence Palestine Judaism. If Palestine Judaism is to be exposed to and influenced by the best of cultural life in the world at large, it should certainly be receptive to Jewish achievement/ⁱⁿ other lands. Wherever Jews are they should apply themselves to the task of increasing the content of Jewishness to the maximum degree so that there shall be no lack of variety in occasions for self-expression, and in appeal to the manifold spiritual interests of the modern man.

In sum, the principal prerequisite to the Jew valuing Judaism as of any worth to say nothing of supreme worth is abundant, diversified and satisfying content. The enhancement of content should take place principally in the fields of a) ethics, b) jurisprudence, c) folkways and d) the arts.

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Tuesday, August 13, 1929, West End, N.J.

The raison d'etre of a civilization is its efficacy in creating values or worths. Prior, however, to the art of creating values comes the ability to give to values, as such, the same reality and determining influence as to empirical entities.

New York

Judaism possessed that ability to an eminent degree. The concept of divine revelation reenforced Judaism's standards so that they acquired the potency of physical causes. By this it rendered a much needed service to mankind. The disintegration of the ancient faiths and loyalties shook men's faith in the objectivity and imperative character of values and standards which are essential to the health and productivity of the social order. The human race was altogether unprepared for the acceptance of values and standards which had their center of gravity within human life itself. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it will ever be prepared for such values since they

are tantamount to lifting oneself by one's bootstraps. The compelling aspect to any value or standard to which we feel bound to defer derives from the very belief that it is cosmic, that it transcends human existence. The philosophers and their schools failed to supply the floundering peoples with the needed anchorage, because they had no means of giving objectivity and imperativeness to the most elementary social values. That need was met by Judaism with its positive affirmation of the transcendent sanction not only of those values but even the more detailed and specific laws and regulations of human conduct.

This affirmation consisted not as with the philosophers of a reasoned conclusion pointing to the objective and imperative character of the values and standards of human life, but of what was regarded as the unquestioned historic fact of supernatural revelation. Since that fact is now questioned it would seem as though the human race were once more (and this time including the Jews) thrust back into the quicksands of hopeless scepticism in which the Roman world found itself at the beginning of the common era. Yet that need not be the case at all. The human mind has ceased to be dependent upon some supernatural sign to confirm the objectivity and imperativeness of the values that make for the health and growth of society. It has learned to sense the reality of the spiritual not as something of supernatural but as something supersensible that interacts with and functions through the sensible and perceptible world. This ability is a mature form of spiritual grasp, the product of a first hand realization of how much of character there is to the world that is of how much of the world can be depended on as acting uniformly and of how self-fulfilling life can be for those who succeed in putting themselves en rapport with that element of character which is in the world. It is that element of character which expresses itself in

human life as the "power that makes for righteousness." All those who take an affirmative attitude toward life and are determined to make the best use of their lives accept more or less consciously this version of the reality of the spiritual so that the supernatural confirmation of this version is no longer indispensable. But there must be no interregnum. Those who appreciate how the traditional foundations have been shaken must not give themselves any rest until the new spiritual support be set up in its place. The kingdom of values which has of late been invaded and largely devastated by the mechanistic and materialistic philosophies must be restored in the various civilizations of the world. ^{It} is that effort which will save mankind from becoming barbarized. We Jews need engage in that effort no less than the other peoples.

Modern spiritual thinkers are endeavoring to construct a foundation of ethical values upon which the structure of social life might be reared. Kant may be said to have inaugurated the movement to find a sanction for the values that are necessary to the social order now that the belief in supernatural has been undermined. But that movement is likely to fail as did the one inaugurated by Socrates and Plato, or the School of the Stoics, so long as it will remain confined to the limited class of intellectuals. Other civilizations abound in so much activity and afford so many outlets for self-expression ~~xx~~ to their peoples that they do not feel the lack of those inner basic convictions as to the worth of social standards. Though the traditional religious sanctions are decaying there is no concerted effort on the part of the leaders of most peoples (Note: In this respect the French are an exception, though their leaders have so far not found the way) to forestall the crash which must ultimately come. We Jews ought to bestir ourselves in the fashion so familiar to our ancients when confronted with a spiritual crisis.

As a people and through popular concern ought we to demonstrate our anxiety to reorient ourselves ethically. It is not a case of noblesse oblige. Jewish national impulses that have left in the Jewish civilization of the past a rich residue of ethical passion and inspiration should be called into action ~~again~~ again. The ethical reconstruction in which Jews of ethical enlightenment should engage should not be conducted in the manner of the ethical philosophy of ancient times. The ethical teachers who promulgate his illuminating and edifying intuitions and experiences as though they belonged to man or mankind in the abstract will succeed by surrounding himself by a limited group of followers and there his influence will end. Paradoxical as it may seem the ethical teachers who left the deepest impress upon mankind were those who did not come to save mankind but their own peoples and to redeem their own civilizations from decay. By addressing themselves to their own civilization they give their message a concreteness and dynamic force which must in the end compel even the average man in the street to reckon with it. Only by having the ethical reconstruction incorporated into Jewish civilization will that reconstruction affect the lives of all Jews who want to remain Jews and they will want to remain Jews as soon as they will feel that the best that is in being definitely challenged by and elicited through the civilization. This explains why prophets have succeeded where ethical philosophers have failed. The ethical philosopher was abstract and lacked the power to move men because he addressed himself to civilization in general. The prophet was concrete ~~concrete~~ and roused to action because he addressed himself to his people's civilization, trying to change its course, opposing its idols and putting up before it new ideals. Ethical philosophers are dreamers and writers of Utopias, Prophets are practical revolutionaries.

The only kind of ethical movement that is compatible with the genius of the Jewish civilization is a movement of the prophetic and not of the philosophic type. This means that instead of taking the attitude that the new ethical structure should house only those who find themselves out of place in the traditional sanctions of social duties, all Jews should be aroused to the need of reconstructing their ethical and spiritual life. The reorientation should be advocated as a function of Jewish civilization as a whole. Of course there will be conflicts of opinion but interest will be aroused and Jewish civilization will become ethically productive.

The difference between the philosophic and the prophetic method will become clear if we will state specifically how the effort at reorientation should be conducted. Let us take the two main categories of human conduct which are in need of ^{having their} ethical standards redefined, one the category of sex, the other the category of power or self-assertion. It is essential that those who are intellectually qualified by their knowledge of the past Judaism and their appreciation of present day difficulties and problems, and spiritually qualified by their ethical attainments should regard it their foremost duty to devote themselves to the requisite study of these problems with the view of accomplishing the following twofold result: 1) The discovery of an acceptable and dynamic sanction for whatever standards of conduct they shall have occasion to suggest, and 2) the formulation of specific standards of right and wrong in these two categories of conduct.

Let us assume that after careful consideration of the various possible sanctions an individual thinker or group of thinkers approves of the principle laid down by Kant that the human personality has an intrinsic and ultimate sanctity which is violated whenever that personality is treated as a means or a tool instead as an end. It then

devolves upon that thinker to urge the adoption of that sanction as a basic value of Jewish life and to urge it with the same fervor that the prophets urged their conception of YHWH as a God of righteousness who prefers that we be just and merciful to our neighbors to receiving animal offerings. If possible - and it surely is possible - let him select from the values of past Judaism those aspects which prove that the sanctity of the human person has implicitly played a part in shaping the most important standards and laws. This resort to the past for confirmation is not a mere sop to the conservatively minded. Ethical principles need history not only to counteract the sense of arbitrariness or dogmatism that would otherwise adhere to them but to prove them in line with tendencies inherent in the very nature of man, and therefore also in keeping with that character of the world which expresses itself as the power that makes for righteousness. (Note: Investigation into the past of the Jewish mind is bound to have a present day interest.) To this end let him cull from the Jewish literature of the past whatever will help to verify the truth of the sanction he would urge for adoption by Judaism. He should not shrink from the implication of the negative namely, that traditional sanction ~~sanction~~ that God specifically made known to Moses that adultery and lying are forbidden, is not only untenable but morally dangerous just as the prophets regarded it spiritually dangerous for their people to worship YHWH under an image.

No less important than discovering the standards which may serve as sanctions in the discovery of the standards which might provide specific guidance in the various contingencies and exigencies that arise in man's relation to woman and in his numerous relationships to his fellowman. It is here, of course, that the play of the new forces set afoot by modern techniques and inventions must be taken into account. In sex relations, e.g., the use of contraceptives makes

necessary for plain and outspoken precepts to be given as to when their use is permitted and when forbidden. The wild orgy of promiscuity which may result from the use of contraceptives need not render us apprehensive that all rules and limitations are futile. We should have faith in the power of Judaism and in the moral capacity of the Jewish people. If our ancestors were able to evolve high standards of sex morality and did not succumb to licentiousness when sex lust was sanctified by phallic worship, we have reason to assume that it is possible for the Jews of today to withstand the breakdown of all restraints in sex indulgence, provided they realize that their civilization has its face set against the specific forms which licentiousness has assumed in our day. A similar course should be pursued with regard to the infinitely more complex problem of what is wrong or right in our other relationships in life. The introduction of machinery has revolutionized not only the relationships of labor and commerce, but even the more intimate relationships of family life. Here again the process of formulating specific precepts of ethical conduct should be applied, fortified by whatever may be found in the Jewish past to support those precepts.

Wednesday, August 14, 1929

2) That which differentiates Judaism from a religious or ethical philosophy, apart from the usual attributes of national life is the fact that it gives primary place to law instead of to ethics.. Although Torah has various connotations among which the one of moral and spiritual teaching figures prominently, the connotation of "law" is the most conspicuous. And with good reason since the truest index of a civilization is the extent to which it not merely addresses and instructs how to render but succeeds in rendering the various relationships in which human beings stand to one another most evocative of the good that inheres in each. (Note:

Throughout this discussion we employ the term "law" only in reference to jurisprudence or to laws regulating human relationships. The need of departing from the tradition which applies the term law "halkha" indifferently to (p. 115) and ritual practice will be discussed in the section dealing with folkways.)

The formal distinction between ethics and law or jurisprudence can easily be stated. Law is ethics plus social efficacy. Like ethics law is essentially a means of achieving a high synthesis out of conflict and not merely a means of settling disputes. When an ethical principle or precept is backed by the consent of the social group to which one belongs it has entered the domain of law. It is immaterial what form the approval or disapproval takes. As a rule the aspect of disapproval of transgression is the more usual form of indicating that an ethical principle or precept has entered the stage of law. The reason jurists find it difficult to draw the line between ethics and law is that their problem is the specific one of determining at what point social efficacy may take the form of physical coercion. The dangers to individual freedom attendant upon the exercise of physical coercion by the State are so great that the jurist must not permit society to exercise punishment for the infraction of ethical principles and precepts to even if those principles and precepts represent the furthest reach of idealism. (cf. Cardozo) Social efficacy should be released at a few notches in the ethical principle below the highest. But the element of social efficacy constitutes an indispensable factor in a civilization. To whatever degree Judaism is to be lived in the Diaspora the element of social efficacy must supplement its ethical principles and precepts to translate them into law or jurisprudence. We are not arguing here for the employment of physical coercion in the form of social ostracism or excommunication, but for the employment of means of ap-

proval and disapproval -- of approval perhaps more than disapproval -- to lend social efficacy to moral guidance.

The importance of adding the element of social efficacy to Jewish life so that it evolves positive law will scarcely be admitted so long as we shall be swayed by the popular prejudice against law as on the whole an evil even if a necessary one. If we entertain that prejudice we are ~~xxxxxxx~~ certain to rejoice in the fact that as Jews we need no longer disturb the purity of our high ethical ideals by the disputes and brawls of litigants, since we can have the "dirty" work of adjusting our quarrels attended to by the gentile courts. But careful consideration of the function of law will enable us to free ourselves of the misconceptions that underlie our narrow view of law, and will open our eyes to the truth that in surrendering the prerogative of putting into effect positive law Judaism has surrendered the most civilizing function which it is within the power of any group or people to exercise.

Thursday, August 15, 1929

For in the exercise of law the social group does not merely prevent the would be wrongdoer from injuring his fellow but helps the would be wrongdoer to overcome his anti-social tendencies. Except for the few who are gifted with an extraordinary amount of self-control the efficacy which a group gives to a great part of the ethical ideals is indispensable as a means of keeping in check the egoistic desires when they tend to break out.

A social group that does not exercise the prerogative of law soon ceases to be ethically creative, and forfeits even the ethical standards which it may have inherited from the past. If the Jewish people ceases to lay down the law to employers and employes in those matters in which their interests conflict what concrete experience can its spokesmen have for forming ethical principles that

ought to attain and the employer employe relationship. The same holds good with regard to the problems of domestic relationships. In other words the most important function associated with civilization, that of setting up standards of action in our relations to one another, can no longer be discharged by a people that is no longer in a position to pass judgment on the conflicts of its members.

We have seen with what true instinct the Jews in the darkest period of their career held on to the prerogative of exercising the powers of legal decision even when the nations which conquered them destroyed the Jewish courts and forbade their convening. The Jews developed the privately appointed court which proceeded with the application of Jewish law as though the Jewish state had remained intact. If the maintenance of Jewish life in the Diaspora is not to be entrusted to the few exhortations which the layman who still attend synagogue once or twice a year may hear, then there is no escape from the conclusion that Judaism must be given a chance through its spokesmen to act as arbiters in the conflicts that arise among Jews. (Add supplement g on p. 132)

A more serious problem is the fact that Jewish law in the form in which it has been handed down to us in the compendia and the Responsa is largely irrelevant to modern conditions. Palestine will undoubtedly contribute to the development of Jewish law in accordance with the new needs and conditions. But it would be a mistake to become entirely dependent upon Palestine. There can be no doubt that the Jews there will be groping for a long time before they will have any certain method or ~~proceed~~ procedure in the building up of modern Jewish law. In the meantime Judaism must be put into action in the Diaspora. The principle, that might be adopted with regard to cases not covered by ancient Jewish law, or covered by law which is immoral or unjust in our generation, is that the private or ~~Behillah~~

court act in the same spirit as the English circuit judges did in the early days of England. They had no fixed code to go by. They consulted the primitive laws which had existed for the most part as custom but they relied chiefly on their own sense of justice. Their decisions have been handed down from generation to generation and constitute the great corpus of common law which is the unique contribution of English civilization. Likewise the decisions rendered by the various private courts should be recorded and form the basis of Jewish common law. It will no doubt be found that reason and the desire to be just to both litigants would help to render uniform the decisions of varied courts. In addition there should be appointed from time to time a group ~~xx~~ of competent people to pass upon and revise if need be, the precedents set up by common Jewish law.

Friday, August 16, 1929

The new category "folkways" is one of the conspicuous corollaries of the elimination from Judaism of the theurgic element. In Jewish tradition all accepted customs are designated as commandments. The first distinction introduced was that between "commandments between man and God" and "commandments between man and man." Later a further classification was introduced to distinguish those of the "commandments between man and God" which were based upon some understandable reason from those which had no such reason. The term "commandments" (Mizvah) should continue in Jewish usage in the revaluated sense of being in conformity with the spiritual essence of the world, as far as we Jews have been able to sense that essence, it being at the same time definitely understood that should life necessitate any changes in the customs the fact that they are designated "mizvot" should not act as an inhibitive influence. But it is of vital ~~important~~ importance to have a significant term besides mizvot for those customs which were hitherto designated as commandments between man and God. We need a term that would indicate a totally

different psychological approach from that with which we come to positive law or jurisprudence. That term is folkways. In the traditional literature the term minhag denotes a variant of customary practice, the variant being due to spontaneous, unaccountable popular approval. It is never applied to the customary practices which are urged in the Torah or in rabbinic literature because it would impugn the imperative character of those practices. From the point of view of the new stage upon which Judaism is entering we should extend the use of the term minhag to all customary practices which do not involve the conflict of interests and rights of individuals. The designation of the commandments between man and God as minhagim or folkways will carry with it a twofold implication. One, that the legalistic treatment of these "commandments," the duty of strict conformity to the letter of the "commandment," the fear of tampering with the forms prescribed, the quibbling and pettifogging that would begin when life rendered the strict observance of those commandments untenable would all be eliminated. The other, that not only should as many of these "commandments" as in no way offend the spiritual sensibilities of the modern man be conserved and further developed, but Jewish life should be stimulated to evolve new and additional folkways. Folkways are the social gestures whereby a people externalizes the reality of its collective being. The more alive that being is the more will it abound in folkways. The trouble with Judaism is not that we have too many commandments but far too few, of the folkway type as well as of the juristic type.

The revaluation of the commandments between man and God as folkways will not only displace the legalistic approach but will cause us to abandon the futile attempts to find a rational basis for each specific commandment. Ever since Judaism encountered the challenge of philosophy opinion has been divided as to whether the species

of religious mizvot should be subjected to rational interpretation, some holding that to subject any mizvah or divine command to the test of reason is to question the truth of tradition or the wisdom of God and others assuming that to give a rational interpretation to the religious mizvot is to insure their observance. But even those who assumed the propriety of rational justification fit the religious commandments have not been uniformly successful in the application of their method. The one classic and large scale attempt to establish a detailed rationale for the religious mizvot was undertaken by Maimonides. The very conception, in fact, of Taame Hamizvot - like the phrase - is usually associated with him. This attempt as is well known, utterly fails in the case of the sacrificial mizvot for having first established that the sacrificial system was a concession to the strain of barbarism in Israel at the time of the giving of the Torah, Maimonides is yet constrained to hope for their restoration and perpetuation in a restored Jewish commonwealth - the reason being that the mizvot of the Torah are meant for all time. The inconsistency is glaring. But since even with the Jewish philosophers reason was merely the handmaiden of faith and her position was one of supperance, they were not too much disturbed the lack of logical integrity to their system.

This was the case of Judaism up to the nineteenth century when for the first time certain parts of the Jewish world definitely graduated out of the prolonged middle ages of Jewish life. The challenge that had been visited upon all the traditional attitudes to experience was now thrown also to Judaism. Those who felt the force of the challenge saw at once the need of meeting it in its own terms. They were determined to eliminate from Judaism all those practices which did not meet the qualification of being rational. "Rational" was used by this school of thought to mean, of course, not reasonable,

but in agreement with rationalism. Even those practices which, if not intrinsically meaningful, had acquired great historical usefulness and importance were to be abrogated unless they could be discovered to symbolize some universal ideal. The whole career of Judaism was to become the means for the promulgation of the two rational principles-in-chief: the unity of God and the brotherhood of man. There was remarkable unanimity between the Reform and the neo-Orthodox on this point. The only difference was that the Reform found only a limited number of the religious commandments capable of serving these universal ends, and the neo-Orthodox claimed that all the religious commandments in all their details were a means, if only the proper method of interpretation were to be brought to bear upon them.

This attitude of both the Reform and the Orthodox was bound to lead to the inevitable conclusion that as means of furthering universal ideals the religious commandments were artificial and only complicated the process toward them. The Alexandrian Jews argued long ago and pertinently that if it is possible to contemplate the pure meanings which the commandments are devised to serve why distract oneself from contemplation by the performance of them. (Philo who held that the commandments were the necessary body to the pure soul of meaning which dwelt within them was an exception not a rule among the rationalizers, his contemporaries.)

There is fortunately an alternative to the old state of mind about the mizvot, and that alternative is a state of mind we might call the "poetic feeling." It is this connotation of "poetic feeling" that we believe can best be joined to the designation of the religious commandments as folkways. As a quality of mind making for an attitude toward Jewish experience "poetic feeling" involves the following: Judaism is not merely a universe of discourse but it is

also, and this fundamentally, a universe of sensation, Jewish life must be based on a multiplicity of sense objects; these will also enable Jewish discourse to function with the necessary rich variety of sensory images. In the second place, Jewish life must be an end in itself, not a means to outside ends. Those sense objects which delight one in and for themselves - not as means to power, satisfaction of biological, or propagation of universal "truths" etc -- are the materials of poetic feeling, and such must be the materials of self-justified Jewish life.

This is not to say that faith and reason may henceforth be dispensed with in Jewish life. There is a kind of faith the lack of which will bar one from seeing any worthwhileness in Jewish life, so that this faith we must have and have profoundly as a prerequisite to finding any poetry in Jewish customs. The more intensely that ~~faith~~ faith abides with us the more worth~~will~~ will Jewish life acquire in our sight. This faith is synonymous with the acceptance of spiritual values. But it is not the blind acceptance of tradition.

Similarly while reason cannot be the justification of our adherence to Judaism we cannot on that account ^{flout} ~~flout~~ reason. Whatever our human reason proves to be inconsistent with a spiritually conceived Jewish life must be rejected, so that Jewish life may be spiritually realized. We must therefore reckon with reason in the reconstruction of Jewish practice as well as in the reinterpretation of the Jewish past. Not for the sake of reason, but for the sake of Jewish life.

But for the stimulation of a creative attitude toward the mizvot we must depend for impulse on whatever poetry is in the soul of the Jew; and for material in turn we must aim to make Judaism responsive to the demands of the poetic in the soul of the Jew. The importance of determining what our state of mind about any element

in Judaism ought to be is that we have a touchstone for ascertaining what it is in us that that element must satisfy in order to be worthwhile. In an age of faith - the less plausible the mizvah the better; it gave one the experience of obeying God implicitly. In an age of reason -- every mizvah had to measure to some universal implication or it could not find a place in Judaism. And if the quality of mind in our approach to Judaism is poetic feeling, then we shall demand of Judaism a richness of sensible experiences, and we shall find such experiences to be ends in themselves.

In refusing to treat the mizvot as means to universal ideals, I do not wish to be understood as advocating their conversion into occasions for mere estheticism. As folkways the mizvot must naturally center about the fundamental experiences of life which are universal in their character. They deal with food and leisure both, adolescence, marriage, death, the change of seasons, national memories. They should help to lift those universal experiences into humanizing influences. Perhaps the function and nature of folkways can best be made clear by comparing them with folk music. The worth of folk music consists in the fact that it treats universal themes in a fashion that is individual with the folk that produces it. Folk music can surely not be said to be intended to point to any definite truth pertaining to the themes they deal with. Yet it would be altogether pointless if it had not centered about these themes. The same holds good of folkways. Hence the principle to be followed in the development of Jewish folkways is that every elemental fact of human existence should constitute an occasion for folkways to be practiced whenever they do not involve an unreasonable amount of time, effort and expense. Of course what is reasonable will depend upon how intense one is in his Jewishness and how large his resources are. We need entertain none of the fears about the anarchy resulting from diversity in the prac-

tice of folkways. Diversity is a danger when we are dealing with law. But since we can no longer accept the mizvot as laws but as folkways spontaneity will not only help to foster them but will also give rise to a kind of unforced uniformity which will be all the more valuable ~~in~~ because it is not prescribed.

Finally it is as folkways that the mizvot will extend their range over many phases of life that could be made more interesting and beautiful through their being made more Jewish. It is remarkable how the ancient sages intuitively grasped the value of folkways which could not be comprised in category of divinely ordained laws. They knew nothing of the anthropology and psychology of folkways yet they knew enough to say that it was by virtue of four meritorious practices that the Israelites were redeemed from Egypt, three of which were the retention of their Hebrew language, of their Hebrew names and their Hebrew garments. None of these practices is commanded, yet they are esteemed of such worth as to have rendered the Israelites deserving of redemption.

We cannot urge the retention of the East European Kapote or streimel for daily wear. This on the principle that a folkway must not become a nuisance. But the wearing of the Tallit and the covering of the head in the synagogue or putting on of the frontlet while reciting prayers do not involve our making nuisances of ourselves. Jewish life is surely not enriched by eliminating them and it is surely rendered more interesting, more poetic if you will, by being kept up in the synagogue or the home. (Note: cf. Palliere's First Impressions of Judaism and the steps by which he was led to adopt it.)

The matter of names is not even considered in any discussion of Judaism, yet from the standpoint of the principle we have laid down as to the importance of enlarging the scope of Jewish folkways the names we bear constitute a highly important item.

Sunday, August 18, 1929

Outside the rabbinic remark quoted there does not seem to have crystallized itself on the past any sentiment that is decidedly opposed to the adoption of non-Jewish names. In fact the general tendency seems to have been to make free use of gentile names. It is easy to trace the changes in the cultural environment in which Jews found themselves by the changes in the type of names that the Jews bore, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Rome and later the various European nations have left their stamp upon Jewish names. (Note: Among the survivals of medieval persecution in the early nineteenth century was the attempt of some European governments to prohibit the adoption of gentile names. Zunz brought to bear his extraordinary learning and memory upon the history of names to prove that Jews have always been in the habit of using foreign names. Hence they ought to be permitted to continue that habit. Which only goes to prove how the necessity to combat persecution distorts one's conclusions and one's wishes.) But we cannot afford to be ruled by precedent in this matter. In former times they could allow themselves this laxity since they had so many other and substantial means of compensating for it. With Jewish life as intense and segregated as it was in the past this yielding to non-Jewish influence could not have jeopardized their Jewishness. (Note: The theory is advanced by some that the Jews in the Pharaic period developed a strong sense of tabu against theophoric names and therefore preferred non-Jewish names for their children.)

But circumstances have altered. Every possible measure that is likely to fortify Jewish consciousness should be taken advantage of, assuming that it is free of all anti-social bias. The names that a person bears carries with it cultural implications and associations. By it a person identifies himself with a particular civilization. There can be no question that a Jew who definitely prefers

to be known only by some Anglo-Saxon name is trying to conceal his Jewish identity. In view of the economic discrimination against Jews this desire to conceal one's Jewish identity is understandable. But throughout this discussion it is not the easier but the harder way that we are advocating. For that reason we would advise combating discrimination rather than assuming the proctive coloring of the environment.

In Palestine the "Hebraizing of personal and family names is a phase of the conscious Jewish renaissance. In the Diaspora where Jews are bound to have the greater part of their being in non-Jewish civilizations, it would be inconsistent and unethical for them to bear names that would indicate Jewish affiliation without indicating their non-Jewish affiliation. Hence the only correct principle to adopt is that the Jews of the Diaspora should indicate their twofold affiliation by bearing one name which is distinctively Jewish and another name which is distinctly American, German, or Polish, as the case may be.

Among the folkways the cultivation of which has become imperative is the use of the Hebrew language. That the significance of the Hebrew language for the revival of Jewish civilization has been fully appreciated is evident in the unparalleled renaissance which the Hebrew language is experiencing as a vernacular in Palestine. In the Diaspora, however, the chances of its cultivation have been diminished as a result of the integration of the Jews with the various gentile civilizations. Nevertheless to ^{treat} the neglect of Hebrew as of minor importance is bound to thrust us back into the ~~psychological~~ ~~psychology~~ psychology of denominationalism. On the principle that every phase of the Jewish civilization should receive the maximum of effort in the attempt to maintain it, the Hebrew language should be fostered under every possible circumstance which lends itself to its cultivation.

There is no reason why among the foreign languages that Jewish children acquire in the high schools and colleges they should not be taught Hebrew, or why Hebrew ~~xxx~~ should not be given the same academic credit as Greek and Latin. In American Jewish homes which can afford to keep French and German governesses in order that the little ones may learn to lisp in French or German, a Jewish governess that would play with the children in Hebrew would be far more appropriate. The opportunity presented by religious services for the use of Hebrew is of course rendered all the more logical by the tradition of centuries. It is not to be expected that Hebrew should be a medium of conversation or that even the majority of the Jews in the Diaspora will possess a fair reading knowledge of it. Yet even the average Jewish layman should be expected to have at his command a glossary of Hebrew expressions and idioms which refer to the most conspicuous phases of Jewish life. To take at random such expression for the sake of illustration, no Jew need be without the knowledge of such words as Eretz Yisrael, Yom Tov, Siddur, Rakmonut, Gemilut Hassadim and a host of other such terms. But if the average layman may be exempted from an adequate knowledge of Hebrew, that exemption should not be extended to those who occupy a position of leadership and influence in Jewish life, whether they are engaged in religious, educational or social endeavor. Without such knowledge their attitude toward Jewish life and their conception of its needs are bound to be vitiated by assimilationist tendencies. 4) In discussing the relation of art to a civilization we indicated the familiar fact whose significance oft escapes us to wit that Judaism always had its art forms however limited in scope or crude in execution. Every kind of collective life which evolves a certain degree of joy in fellowship must of its own accord give rise to artistic creation even as the spirit de corps of a college produces college songs and class day take offs.

We may therefore depend upon the new Jewish life in Palestine finding expression in song and story, in drama and music and in the plastic arts. Art cannot be commanded or produced to order. If we feel certain that a Jewish Palestine will give the world a new Jewish art it is because of the efflorescence of the arts among Jews as soon as they were liberated from the anxieties and fears of persecution. That a people which has been kept esthetically suppressed for so many centuries should be able to evince such talent and in some instances even genius in the fields of music, drama and painting under circumstances which even today are far from favorable to creativity presages extraordinary achievement when Jewish life shall have attained a status of normalcy.

But while it is true that art must be the spontaneous reaction to life we must not infer that it is the one element in Judaism concerning which the only policy to be pursued is that of laissez faire. Laissez faire produces nothing. Even spontaneity which leads to fruitfulness and creativity has to be released, which means that though it cannot be directly willed, the conditions which make for it can be willed and prepared. In the case of Jewish art the most important obstacle which has to be removed (which is tantamount to preparing the conditions that are favorable) as a prerequisite to its release is the failure to appreciate how vital and indispensable it has become to Jewish civilization especially if that civilization is to survive in the Diaspora. It must not be forgotten that the demand to find ~~an~~ inherent worth in Judaism is bound to be accentuated in the Diaspora. Moreover the likelihood of basing that inner worth upon the superiority of the religious aspect of the Jewish civilization to the religious aspect of the civilizations of our neighbors is getting ever more remote. For the more idealistically minded among us (and it is their wishes that should be reckoned with

most often) the modern civilizations exercise a tremendous attraction not so much by dint of ethical or religious progress as by that of the great esthetic achievements. We should not overlook the fact that the power which esthetic values have come to exercise over the most highly cultivated human mind is equalled only by the hold which religious values had upon the human mind in the past. If formerly religion spoke in the language of art, there is the tendency to raise art to a religion. Already the function art as escape from the harsh realities of natural existence, or as compensation for them is avowed in many quarters where the consolations offered by religion are rejected. The type of mind which will find Jewish civilization unacceptable by reason of the traditional religious values being regarded as only *raison d'être* may be counted on to be on the increase so long as either the Orthodox or Reformist ~~concepts~~ conceptions will be regarded as authoritative. The interim should not be permitted to remain spiritually void from a Jewish point of view for men or women of this type. Only a rich esthetic productivity or at least the promise of one will keep them within the Jewish people.

Another important step which will have to be taken to release Jewish esthetic creativity is in the field of Jewish religion. Pallas worship was the mother of the fine arts, of architecture, sculpture, drama, music, song and dance. There is undoubtedly a profound reason for this close association in the past between worship and art. It is questionable whether the arts have reached the same sublime heights since they have been leading a life apart from worship. It is certain however that wherever worship has tried to lead an existence independent of the arts it has become arid and ~~uninspiring~~ uninspiring. The connection between Jewish worship in the Temple and whatever arts the Jews developed in ~~the~~ ancient times is well known. (Note: We question the wisdom of the prohibition of

instrumental music in worship after the Temple was destroyed. From the standpoint of rendering Judaism interesting and inspiring it had about as much value as would have had the prohibition that was urged by extremists forbidding the eating of meat and drinking of wine.) Subsequently public worship continued to be an occasion for song and poetry. These helped to counteract the formalism which Jewish worship finally attained. But the spirit underlying even the limited range within which Jewish worship found expression in art forms has never been consciously apprehended. The efficacy and significance of worship have been made to depend altogether too much upon the strict conformity with prescribed forms and rules. Legalism and endless repetition of prescribed formulas have banished from Jewish worship all that freedom and spontaneity without which it is impossible for art to flourish.

A completely new attitude towards worship, assuming that its value is granted must now be acquired. The foremost question which those who organize public worship should ask themselves is "What art forms, what poetry, what music, what song, what drama and even what dance movements are best calculated to produce in us the cosmic mood? Of course these art forms must be Jewish and Hebraic otherwise the entire point is missed since we want to see to what extent the Jewish civilization can prove its worth by satisfying the natural craving for public worship. Likewise the ancient liturgical formulas would undoubtedly occupy a place of honor in the ordering of public worship, provided they would cease being viewed as possessing magic potency which is destroyed by variation. With the adoption of this attitude not only would worship be saved from its growing desuetude but Jewish art would enter upon a career of spiritual conquest. Hebrew poets would leave off singing Byronic love lyrics or sentimentally pessimistic ditties and devote their powers to the express-

ion of the prayerful yearnings of men and women to come to terms with the mystery of life, birth, love, suffering and death. Likewise the creators of song and music would find in the themes of worship the chance to express man's various moods in the presence of destiny. Rash as it may sound, we would even advocate the introduction of dramatic presentations and pageants as part of public worship. Moreover, the aid of the architect, the sculptor, the painter, the worker in glass, the tapestry weaver, should be enlisted to beautify the place of worship. The ancient prohibitions against the use of the human form must not be allowed to stand in the way, since the original fear of idolatrous worship has become totally meaningless. These then are some of the measures necessary for releasing the capacities for art dormant in Jewish life.

Monday, August 19, 1929

It would be totally futile to discuss all these possibilities of enlarging the scope of Jewish life if there were not some prospect of their being realized. It therefore behooves us to indicate upon what agency, institution or social habits we may rely to direct as much of the will to live as Jews as still survives into channels of effort necessary to enhance the quantity and quality of Jewish life along the lines suggested. What likelihood is there of individuals and groups even recognizing the desire or ability of a wide and more significant content to Judaism? Unless the demand for a more intensive Jewish life be felt the supply will surely not be forthcoming. The demand for the things of the spirit does not come spontaneously. To a slight degree every human being has spiritual yearnings, but to the degree that is necessary to lead a fully developed cultural existence the human being cannot be depended upon to experience without the stimulation of those represent in themselves as it were the accumulated yearnings of many generations.

The process of reconstructing Jewish life will therefore have to begin with those who possess the greatest fund of Jewish scholarship; from them it will have to proceed by means of the education of the adult, and finally take form in a system of education of the child. We are not suggesting merely some artificial contrivance to carry into effect the creation of a general demand for a more intensive and more meaningful Judaism, nor are we stating the self evident fact that the only way to create a demand for the higher things of life is through education. We are urging as a condition to Jewish renaissance and creativity the reinstatement of that particular function or value of Torah which hitherto fed the most distinctive social habit in the Jewish civilization, the social habit of study.

Torah as a habit of study occupied in traditional Judaism a position of primacy. It was not regarded as a form of intellectual activity, but as a spiritual experience. The interest in the knowledge of reality as an end in itself, the kind of interest that was shown only by some of the Greek philosophers was practically unknown among the Jews as among all ancient peoples. The fascination which Torah study had for Jews derived from his belief that the Torah was the revelation of God's will and purpose with regard to man. To acquire the knowledge of its teachings was to be certain what a man had to do to achieve salvation, fullness of life and a share in the world to come. The importance of study was paramount because it was presumed to issue into the practice of the right. The naivete which enabled the Jew to accept the contents of specific writings and traditions as supernaturally revealed has departed. If, however, we cherish the wish to maintain the continuity of the Jewish civilization there is very little in that civilization that so lends itself to being continued that in itself is so much worthwhile and that can be the principal means of adding new worth to Judaism as the habit of study

associated with Torah. To pursue knowledge of human nature with the end in view of discovering how it may be improved and of the knowledge of human relationships with the end in view of rendering them a means of eliciting the best that human nature is capable of is to carry on in our day an activity similar in function if not in form with the study of Torah. The intellectual concern in the problem of Jewish life, a concern that aims at rendering the Jew a source of blessing to the world by enabling him to be true to himself comes as near being a continuation in spirit and purpose of the study of Torah as it is possible for any element of a past civilization to be continued in modern environment without being out of joint in that environment. The significance of this fact is that we have by reason of it a ready means to promulgate the reconstruction of Jewish life. The first step in bringing about the reconstruction should be a movement the momentum which the traditional attitude toward the study of Torah carries with it to the study of whatever the new knowledge has to offer toward enabling the Jew to play his part in the world with credit to himself and usefulness to his neighbor. That same fervor and desire for illumination, that same spirit of edification and inspiration which accompanied the study of a folio of the Talmud and commentaries can be made to accompany the study of a chapter in history, in psychology, in ethics or in law for the purpose of comprehending the Jewish past or planning the Jewish future. We would not in any way deprecate the study by Jews of the human sciences in a purely objective spirit. Nothing is further from our thoughts than assenting to such doctrine as propounded by Hirsch that study as a means of satisfying intellectual curiosity is a sin. But we are addressing ourselves to the specific task of bringing order into the House of Israel. For that task the most important requisite is bringing to bear all of the enthusiasm which the Jew developed in the

pursuit of the study of Torah upon the study of whatever the human sciences place at our disposal today for our self-knowledge and self-improvement as Jews.

This transfer of spiritual enthusiasm from the old to the new content of Jewish civilization will never be achieved, unless it be inaugurated by those who hold the position of intellectual and spiritual leadership in Jewry. The movement must begin at the top from there spread to the rank and file and then take effect in the education of the young. They hope in vain who look for the reconstruction of Jewish life to be initiated through improved systems of educating the young. Without bringing about a change of mind and heart in the generation of adults one of two results is bound to ensue, either the parents will be too indifferent to Judaism to give their child a Jewish training or they will insist upon their child getting what they regard as essential to his career as a Jew, which usually consists of the merest minima in the ~~merest~~ way of time and superficial ability to read a few Hebrew prayers will resist as new fangled any serious attempt to train the child to be a Jew by means of other idea content than that upon which they themselves were brought up. Hence the primary need at the present juncture is Jewish education of the adult.

But as a prerequisite to winning the adult for Jewish education those who hold a position of intellectual and spiritual leadership in Jewish life must take cognizance of and live up to their responsibilities. Whether as teachers in schools of higher learning or as rabbis in charge of congregations they must have the courage to disregard the prestige in which Jews in the past or Gentiles in the present hold ~~certain~~ ^{certain} types of ~~learning~~ ^{learning} and to engage in and make their contribution to the type of learning which will help to up-build Jewish life. The Jews in the past glorified the knowledge of

rabbinic lore, a knowledge which had nothing to do with the training of independent thought but which consisted of the command of vast tracts of text plus the ability to make ingenious permutations and combinations of various detailed statements within those texts. The Gentile scholars in the present who are engaged in studies in the field of Jewish knowledge glorify the archaeologists' ability to reconstruct the life and thought of the past. Both the command of the ancient texts and archaeological research are indisputably essential to intellectual and spiritual leadership, provided they are not exalted as ends in themselves but made subsidiary to broader and more inclusive disciplines such as psychology, sociology, ethics, religion, legal and political science.

The failure of the Jewish people to reorient itself in the new world during the last hundred years has been essentially the failure of its intellectual and spiritual leaders to make Jewish knowledge relevant to the problem of Jewish life. We need no more towering figure of Jewish learning the Zunz yet when it came to establishing connections between the vast funds of information which he gathered and the needs of Jewish life, he derived the most jejune conclusions. From his monumental researches in the history of interpretation we learn nothing about the evolution in the conception of God or man or Israel, nothing about the significance the Jews attached to their national existence. The only relevant purpose which all that learning is intended to prove is that Jews ought to be permitted to preach in the vernacular of the country they live in. This failure to give to Jewish learning the relevance that is necessary to make it a means of giving direction to Jewish life has been inherited by the rabbinical institutions whose curricula are based on the method and spirit of the German Jewish scholars of the nineteenth century. (Note: A striking evidence of the failure of Jewish

scholarship to relate its learning to the troublesome questions of Jewish life is its timidity in dealing with the question of modern scientific attitude toward the Bible. Although most of the modern Jewishly tacitly assume that attitude toward the Bible there has not been made a single attempt made by any of them to face the issue squarely and to point out the implications of the scientific conception of the Bible and of the origin and development of Jewish religion, for belief, practice and the education of the young. There are Rabbinical institutions which omit the teaching of the Pentateuch and of the modern period in Jewish history in order to escape the need of dealing with current vital issues of Jewish life. So long as an attitude of this kind will prevail in the high places of our people it is futile to plan or to hope for a Jewish future.)

Tuesday, August 20, 1929

The only kind of curriculum that should be followed in the training of rabbis should be one that qualifies the rabbi to be a Jewish teacher of both old and young in the age that we now live in. Outside of an occasional class that the rabbi leads in the study of Bible or Jewish history his main function as teacher is exercised in the pulpit. Of all possible media of instruction the pulpit is the most unpedagogic. The sermon has about as much value for purposes of instruction as a talk on hygiene can have to a gathering of patients suffering with various illnesses. The heterogeneity of an average audience/^{makes} all but trite commonplaces out of place in the pulpit. Yet even for this kind of instruction the present curriculum of the rabbinical training schools provide no material nor offer any guidance except of the purely formal type known as homiletics. Not that any of the Jewish subject matter which is now taught in the rabbinical training school can be dispensed with. On the contrary, whatever ability the students acquire in the reading of ancient texts is so

indispensable that it ought to be a condition of entrance to a rabbinical training and not a qualification for assuming the rabbinical calling. The preparation for the rabbinical calling should consist of an intensive study of psychology, sociology, ethics, religion, legal and political science and of their bearing upon Judaism as a civilization which is in need of being transformed to meet unprecedented conditions of thought and life. Those who possess creative ability in the arts should have their talents directed along creative Jewish lines. There should be courses leading to training in literary and musical arts. It is only then that we may entertain hopes for the regeneration of the spiritual life of our people for it is only spiritual leaders who will be versed in the arts of modern spiritual strategy that will find themselves in the possession of a following, not in the sense of having friends and admirers but in the sense that a general has an army with which to carry out his purposes. With rabbis adequately trained to meet the problems of Jewish life intellectual, social and spiritual, it would not be difficult to make the study of Torah as a mental self-application to all problems of human conduct the principal form of self-expression in Jewish life. Supplement 2 p.132.

Upon this consummation depends the ability of the Jewish people to reorient itself with regard to its past, to realize fully its risks and opportunities in the present and to enrich its heritage with a copious sum of new values in ethics, law, folkways and the arts. Without the revival of Torah study the reawakening of Jewish life is a utopian dream.

Wednesday, August 21, 1929

Supplement (1) The main provinces of Jewish life in the Diaspora which can fall within the jurisdiction of Jewish civil law are arts, contracts, agency and marriage and divorce. In addition,

a new province to be known as equity should be added for the application of justice to the definition of duties arising out of other than contractual relationships as e.g. what is a fair wage, to what extent must parents support children and children parents, etc.

Sup. 2. It will be a long time before Jewish life in the Diaspora will attain the form of communal organization that we regard as the social framework within which it is possible for Jewish civilization to evolve its manifold aspects. In the meantime and as a stimulus to the emergence of communal organization there should be found a surrogate in adult Jewish study. Courses in ethics, law, folkways and art should be planned. The general literature on these subjects should be utilized and their bearings upon the needed development in Jewish life made clear. (Note: The study of the science of law according to William Blackstone is no less a part of a liberal education than the study of ethics and art.)

Tuesday, August 27, 1929

To find relief from solitude and monotony while at work on the foregoing outline I played with clay and tried to make a portrait bust of my brother-in-law Jacob H. Rubin. I had only a small snapshot to guide me and I found it entirely unsatisfactory. After spending almost ten hours on modelling the head I succeeded in getting something that remotely resembled Jacob. Lena then suggested that I should take the bust with me to West End where Jacob was sum-
mering and make the necessary corrections with Jacob posing for me. In the meantime we would again have a chance of spending a week ~~and~~ end outdoors and rest up from the work we each had been engaged in; she with putting things in order and I on the chapter in the preceding pages. On Thursday morning I took the clay head with me on a plate in a hat box and set out for West End. During the entire

trip I was debating with myself whether I should turn back or not. It seemed altogether too ridiculous for me to take this playing with clay so seriously as though I knew what I was about. And suppose after having Jacob sit for me I would turn out something that had no resemblance to him whatever, what a fool I would be making of myself. Nevertheless I kept on my trip, got to West End and after lunch I started working. With an hour or two I managed to bring out a strong resemblance. From that time on I was surer of myself and with every additional hour I worked on the bust I improved it. I worked on it Friday, Saturday night and Sunday till four in the afternoon. Outside of reading a number of the ~~p. 122~~ and fifty pages of Benet's John Brown's Body I did no intellectual work during the entire four days. The change from the effort to spin a Jewish Utopia out of the frailest cobweb of possibilities and the pleasure my attempt at modelling afforded every one of the folks in West End were extremely invigorating to me.

During the last few days the reports from Palestine have been staggering. It looks as though the Arabs have made up their minds to compel England to recall the Balfour Declaration and put a halt to that effort to make of Palestine a Jewish national homeland. It seems to me that the future not only of a Jewish Palestine but of the Jewish people and of Judaism is at stake in the struggle that has broken out in Palestine. It looks as though the consummation of the enlarged Jewish Agency served as an incentive to the Arab leaders to incite the Arab population to an uprising. They became apprehensive that the added resources which would accrue to the Jews would ~~enable~~ enable the latter in a short time to become firmly rooted in the Land. (This is my own guess) But whatever the immediate cause may have been -- of course, I regard the Wailing Wall controversy as a

mere pretext -- the aroused ferocity of the Arab population in and around Palestine augurs ill for that which has become to some of us the last hope for a Jewish future.

The trouble with me is that although the entire spiritual ~~structure~~ structure in which I have found domicile is menaced by the Arab uprising. I cannot refrain from judging what is now happening in Palestine from a standpoint which transcends both Jewish and Arab interests. Suppose I were an Arab, would I not deeply resent ~~that~~ my land was being taken away from my people and handed over by a powerful foreign government to strangers? ~~Was~~ Where was the ~~sense~~ sense of Herzl or of Weitzmann and of the other leading Zionists in ignoring the Arab population? Should they not have negotiated with the inhabitants of Palestine before turning to the European conquerors of the country?

Of course one dare not even breathe these questions at this time with our people in a state of panic and hysteria. No doubt from the standpoint of the actual pact which England entered into she is entirely to blame. Here again there is revealed the terrible misfortune of Jewish life when it comes to dealing with the Gentile world. There is never a full and frank statement set forth in terms of all possible contingencies and consequences whenever the Jews receive any concession from the Gentile governments. We Jews are always afraid that if we demand too detailed a declaration of what is actually involved in such concession that it might be withdrawn altogether. The ambiguity of the Balfour Declaration is very similar to that which has shadowed the various emancipation rights that have been granted us during the last century. The very idea of our entering upon an undertaking which involves a complete reversal of traditional values and habits and which are bound to bring us into conflict with other nations without a single thought being given to any of the

complications involved is illustrative of the policy of evasion of fundamental issues. That policy is costing us dearly both in our internal relations and in our external relations.

Should, God forbid, the present attempt of the Jews to reclaim Palestine end in a debacle there is nothing left for me spiritually to live for.

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Thursday, August 29, 1929

My mind is all in a whirl. I attended this week two meetings of the Zionist Administrative Comm. one on Monday afternoon and the other yesterday afternoon. Kr. Kaliski acted as chairman of both meetings. At the first meeting there were only about ten of the Administrative Committee present, the rest being out of town at this time of the year. But there were present also representatives of other organizations who with Leo Wolfson, chairman of the New York Zionist Region (a wheel within a wheel, constructed for the purpose of exercising someone's talents for chairmanship) had arranged for a mass meeting Thursday night. The discussion finally took a practical form leading to the appointment of an Emergency Committee with David Brown as chairman to appeal for funds for the surviving victims of the attacks in Palestine, of a committee on information the latter also to go to Washington to interview Hoover and Stinson. While the meeting was going on Bernard Rosenblatt and his wife came into the room. When he rose to speak it was to urge that the moneys sent should not be for relief but for defense. He had just arrived from Europe where he attended the Congress and Jewish Agency conventions and he spoke with passion of the devastation spread by the Arabs for he knew as he said at what cost in toil and blood such suburbs as Talprot and Matza were built up. ^{Though} ~~through~~ most of us were moved to tears we did not yield to hysteria and merely struck out the term "relief" realizing that it would be foolhardy to appeal for funds for weapons.

The second meeting which took place yesterday revealed the streak of selfishness which does not fail to come out even in the most tragic moments of life. I heard allusions to the mangled report of the interview that took place at Washington. It seems that B.G. Richards who is secretary of the Jewish Congress, managed to stage the affair in such a way as to get the Jewish Congress in on the ground floor. The committee of the Zionist Administrative that went to Washington was treated in that report as an adjunct to the Jewish Congress Committee. It was just the fear of that kind of spirit developing that had kept me from accepting Kalish's invitation to go to Washington. Besides I saw no point whatever in reminding the government to do what it had already done of its own accord, namely, asking the British government to exert its utmost to protect American lives. More than that we could not ask of America just now.

Then there came up the question of speakers at the mass meeting. Those who had charge of the meeting said that Judge Mack had been asked to preside and he replied that he would accept the invitation provided he be allowed to criticize Weizmann. The invitation was withdrawn. Fortunately there was no haggling about speakers. Those in charge then proceeded to another room to complete the arrangements for the meeting. Charles Cowen came back to ask that I should consent to be one of the speakers. I refused, but those present wouldn't take no for an answer.

This reluctant acceptance led me to spend the rest of the day and evening trying to formulate what I ought to say. It was not easy for me to evade the fundamental issue at stake, the Balfour Declaration, though I know that a protest meeting with a large crowd prepared to listen only to most elementary ~~palaver~~ palaver is not the proper occasion. I looked this morning to make sure that my name was not

included in the list of speakers. Not finding it there I felt free to refrain from speaking.

In addition to being weakened by a fit of mental depression I was annoyed this morning by the loss of a filling in one of my back teeth exposing the sensitive part of the tooth. Fortunately I went to the dentist betimes and he refilled the tooth. I would, however, have let the day pass without making any further attempt to prepare a speech for tonight's meeting, though I am sure I would have been in a very uneasy frame of mind on account of my inability to cope with a difficult situation. I am therefore grateful to Dr. Kaliski for having (unintentionally) come to the rescue of my will power by calling me up to make sure I was going to deliver the address on behalf of the Z. Administrative Committee. I didn't even have the energy to refuse him. Instead I asked for a stenographer to be sent to me. When she came I dictated to her the talk that I now expect to give tonight.

The sense of having overcome my indecision together with the good news I just now read about the reply of the English government to Lord Melchett and the brave statement of the Agency leaders is beginning to lift the cloud of gloom which hung over my mind this last week.

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Friday, August 30, 1929

The mass meeting at Madison Square Garden last night exceeded all my expectations. It was as effective and dignified a gesture of protest against the Arab outrages and of resolve to go on with the rehabilitation of Palestine as one could possibly conceive. The message from Hoover, the presence and pointed address

of Senator ~~Borah~~ Borah (who is now head of Foreign Affairs Committee), the presence and speeches of Lieut. Governor Lehman and Mayor Walker will no doubt open the eyes of the Arab leaders to the fact that they can expect little sympathy among Americans for their attempt to make England retract the Balfour Declaration. It will undoubtedly also stiffen England's determination to stand by the Declaration.

There was something of spiritual exaltation about the meeting. Thank God the meeting did not degenerate into a spectacular display of public lamentations. The meaning of Palestine for the Jews could be no better illustrated than by the contrast between the nature of the mass meeting after the Kishineff ~~programs~~^{programs} in which the number of Jews killed and wounded was less than the number of victims of the outrage in Palestine and that of the meeting last night. The temper of the meetings ~~last night~~ then was that of helplessness and despair; the temper of the meeting last night was that of courage and resolve to carry on. It may be that this outbreak against the Jews will fortify our position and future in Palestine more firmly. The one fear that I had always entertained was that the Arabs might succeed in inducing England to allow a representative assembly or parliament to be established in Palestine without insisting upon their formal recognition of the Balfour Declaration, or that they might give such consent and after the representative assembly would be established ignore the Declaration. Had such an assembly been established before the Jews constituted a majority of the population the likelihood of a Jewish national homeland would have been destroyed forever. The actions of the Arabs during the last two weeks will probably defer for a long time the granting of a representative assembly for Palestine. They have shown themselves as unfit and incapable of self-government as any tribe of savages in the heart of

Africa. This will give the Jews a chance to settle/^asufficiently large number of their own people to be able to hold their own against the Arabs both politically and if need be also beligerantly by the time Palestine will be ready to have a representative assembly.

In the light of these significant happenings I feel almost ashamed to make mention of the fact that I did not deliver the speech which I prepared for last night's meeting. With all the travail I experienced in preparing it and the excitement arising out of the delay in having the typewritten copy of it sent me in time for the meeting it remained stillborn.

I am reading at the present time Walter Lippman's Preface to Morals. The word "reading" hardly expresses the mental activity which is set in motion in me by a book like that. That activity resembles rather the physical process which takes place in a starved person who is given delicious and wholesome food to eat. I feel new mental and spiritual vigor pouring into my whole being with every page that I read. It is not so much by reason of what the book says as by reason of what it suggests to me that I find it so invigorating.

Among the ideas it has suggested to me is one with reference to the need of introducing the proper classification into the discussion of religion as an aid to clarity. In what is generally spoken of as religion we must distinguish three distinct strands, viz: popular religion, folk religion and personal religion.

1) Popular religion is the government of human conduct in all its relationships by means of assumed supernatural sanctions of reward and punishment.

2) Folk religion is the system of practices by which the

individual identifies himself with some group in such manner as implicitly to affirm that that group is necessary to his salvation or self-fulfillment.

3) Personal religion is the achievement of a philosophy of life whereby the individual is enabled so to adjust himself to the world as to find himself at home in it.

It would be extremely helpful to the discussion of religion if popular religion were designated theocratic government and not treated as religion at all. The reason for this suggestion is that from a pragmatic standpoint there is by far more in common between popular religion and secular government than there is between popular religion and personal religion. Popular religion is in actuality nothing but a form of political control and differs from secular political control in adding to the machinery of government a whole retinue of invisible beings (assumed to exist) that manipulate the various elements of the physical environment to express their approval or disapproval of the conduct of men. Whereas folk and personal religion are two types of spontaneous individual reaction to life, folk religion being the reaction to one's group as a means to one's self-fulfillment, and personal religion being the reaction to the cosmos as a whole.

In the reconstruction of Judaism, all that has hitherto passed as popular religion which is in reality but the theocratic government of Jewish life is to be transformed into ethical legalistic and political civilization. This is brought out in the revaluation of Torah. As to the element of folk and personal religion the problem is what specific forms shall they be made to assume henceforth.

Incidentally, it has occurred to me that in the use of liturgical formulas as part of Jewish folk religion it will be

necessary to reinterpret the term YHWH to mean "the power manifest in the spiritual aspirations of Israel as making for human self-fulfillment." This may seem a rather cumbersome "Kavanah" to read into the Tetragram yet it is no more cumbersome than the "Name of Seventy-two Letters," which consists of an entire verse.

Such reinterpretation is a more plausible way of overcoming the difficulty presented by the traditional conceptions of YHWH than adopting what my Naomi told me tonight is the practice of some Palestinians omitting the Tetragram from benedictions and reciting the "Birkat Ha-Mozi" (p.139) as a benediction of those who labor to produce bread. In retaining the Tetragram I bless the power in the world which makes possible that cooperation among those who labor whereby bread is produced.

Speaking of benedictions I want to record my rejoicing and gratitude to God for my darling children Judith, Hadassah, Naomi and Selma and for the perfect love they cherish for Lena and me. Hadassah, Naomi and Selma came back today from Camp Modin. I am waiting impatiently to see Judith back from the CJI Camp.

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Sunday, September 1, 1929

When I met Dr. Schneersohn yesterday morning in the park we naturally discussed the effect of the present disturbances in Palestine in the Zionist movement. He took a pessimistic view of the outcome while I vigorously defended the view that the present happenings were the inevitable accompaniment of the process of winning a land, and that Zionism will henceforth have the courage to insist upon its legitimate demands. I wonder whether the vigor with which I expressed my views was not due to actual doubt gnawing at my heart.

In the course of the conversation he told me of a secret confided in him by a noted Jewish physician who had come recently from Paris. The physician assured him that he and other Jewish physicians in Paris knew of a poison gas which can be transported to where the Arabs lived in large numbers and where after a brief period could be set off and kill every living being that it would come in contact with. Schneersohn reacted to the suggestion with such a sense of horror that his confidant changed the subject.

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Monday, September 2, 1929

This morning at 9:00 I had Dinin come to my house preparatory to our going together to see Dr. Adler at the Seminary. I wanted to discuss with Dinin the advisability of having the Teachers Institute engage a supervisor of four or five schools which should be gotten to engage our graduates. While I was talking with him I was called to the phone by a Dr. Epstein, a friend of Rabbi Morris D. Levine. Dr. Epstein informed me that Levine was as yet far from well. With the uncertainty as to the nature of his illness and with the possibility of a serious operation having to be performed on him it would be fatal for him to undertake a full program of work at the Institute and Seminary. Accordingly when I went to see Adler I did not speak about engaging a supervisor but about finding the means of engaging the services of some of our staff and have them take over Levine's hours so that he might be given a leave of absence. Adler who is always considerate and generous with anyone in service when in trouble (and for that matter at all times) suggested the calling of a meeting of the special committee on the TI to ask them to make it possible to give Levine a leave of absence.

I also asked Adler to allow me to engage A. Halkin to give the courses in Jewish history.

Speaking of the situation in Palestine Adler remarked that the fact that so few Christians suffered in the present troubles there indicates that latter took no part in defending the Jews against the Arabs.

He also mentioned the fact that when a committee had come to him in reference to the Yeshiba at Hebron, he advised them strongly against establishing a Yeshiba in one of the strongholds of Moslem ~~fan~~ fanaticism. He pointed out to them that when he passed through Hebron thirty five years ago he was stoned by the Arabs there.

This evening I attended the farewell dinner tendered to Dr. Leo Honor on the occasion of his leaving for Chicago. What Benderly said to me privately about the events at Palestine was more interesting to me than his remarks about Honor which were not so happy. According to Benderly nothing could have served the Zionist cause better than the Arab outbreak. It will give them the courage to make such demands on the English government as they never would have dared to put otherwise. It is second in importance only to the Balfour Declaration in aiding the Zionist movement.

Rabbi Levine was present and spoke in Hebrew. His stories about the Jewish educational and rabbinical situation twenty years ago when he held a position there were highly amusing.

I spoke rather smoothly and to the point.

Saturday night, September 7, 1929

"Whirl is king" describes my present state of mind. At this morning's services at the SAJ which were attended by more than 100 people (mostly non-SAJ members who came on account of the Bar Mitzvah celebration which took place in the synagogue) I read the translation of the Maftarah p. 141 . Its relevance to the

the present tragic events in Palestine was in large part so striking as to make any additional comments unnecessary. The contemporaneity of much of our ancient literature may prove either our preeminence or our undoing. It is evidently impossible for us Jews to keep on cherishing our writings as sacred without yielding to the temptation of interpreting current events in the light of the rendering given by our ancestors to ancient events of an analogous character. It is natural for us to infer that we shall emerge as victorious out of difficulties we are incurring in rehabilitating ourselves in Palestine as did our ancestors who returned from Exile or who had remained in Palestine out of the difficulties put in their way by the Arab and Bedouin peoples in those days. If we were able to assume that we are the Chosen of God in the naive sense in which that belief was held in the past, that inference would be well founded. But the moment we reinterpret the belief in our election to mean the divine as manifest in the extraordinary psychological trait of national self-consciousness, we must take into account the radical difference between the situation in which our people found itself 2500 years ago, and the one in which we find ourselves today. We can no longer regard the native population in Palestine as the enemies of God because they refuse to trek out of the land to make room for us. If we mean to establish a Jewish civilization in Palestine that shall be free from the social and the international unrighteousness that mark the occidental civilizations, we surely cannot afford to overlook the fact that our very right to Palestine as a national homeland is being challenged by the leaders of the native population. To enter Palestine under the protection of English guns is to say the least neither a righteous nor an honorable procedure. The fact pointed out by the Arab spokesmen that England had promised Palestine to the Arabs before she had promised it to the Jews is quite incontestable. What a mess we are in! Will we ever

extricate ourselves from it? Will Herzl only prove to have been a modern Shabbatai Z'in and all of us Zionists but deluded followers of a shallow enthusiast?

Here am I with all ~~these~~ gnawing doubts forced to go ahead with my work of teaching and preaching Judaism as a civilization. With the possibility of Palestine, which is absolutely the sine qua non of any future to Judaism, being lost to us forever what Jewish objective is there left for me to urge?

It looks as though I shall have to take stock of my views and beliefs to make sure that I will no longer permit myself to be swayed by sentiment or influenced by men of forceful will who are blind to the realities and ethics of situations. Thus I read the statement of Pres. Hoover to the mass meeting at Madison Sq. Garden "I am confident out of these tragic events will come greater security and greater safeguards for the future under which the steady rehabilitation of Palestine as a true Homeland will be even more assured." If I were to take this statement seriously all my doubts would be dispelled. ~~an~~ But to me these are mere meaningless words. Hoover merely acted upon the suggestion of the small committee that we to see him. Neither Hoover nor the League of Nations can change the fact that the Arab peoples feel themselves wronged whether ~~mistakenly~~ mistakenly or not. The wise and righteous thing for us Jews would have been to treat with the Arabs uncouth and savage as they are, rather than rely upon hollow promises or foreign armies. Whatever may have grown out of date in the prophetic writings, the one teaching which will remain forever true is that to rely upon political intrigue and the military power of foreign peoples is fraught with the most dangerous consequences.

What shall I do now? If there were an opening in any kind of business I would get out of professionalism entirely. As soon as Spielberg will return to the city I shall get in touch with him to see

whether I can get into the insurance business. In the meantime I must try to readjust my philosophy of Judaism so that I shall find objectives to urge which would not depend for their feasibility upon the Jewish rehabilitation of Palestine. (A fine pass I have come to after all these years of implicit reliance upon Zionism.) I shall try to direct my attention to the problem of personal conduct and religion. Just how it is possible to think about and discuss personal conduct and religion without involving oneself in the question as to which civilization and which group are to serve as media I cannot for the life of me see, but I suppose I shall devise some method of isolating the problem from their cultural context, for as Benderly said to me the other night "The human mind is a prostitute."

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Sunday, September 8, 1929

It may be that I shall strike out on a tack which I planned a longtime ago to take. About fifteen years ago when the Kehilla experiment in this city had proved a failure I passed through a spiritual crisis of a somewhat similar character as the one I am in just now, though, of course, not so violent. Seeing that Jewish life showed no signs of recuperation and reorganization in the Diaspora I began to despair of Diaspora Judaism. Hence the solution which then seemed to me most plausible was the transfer of Judaism to Palestine and of Jewish values to American civilization. Perhaps it ~~was~~^{is} best for me to devote myself now to the development of the second half of that program.

I read yesterday in the Times the report of a paper by a psychologist who proved by statistics that the study of the Bible seemed to have no influence in making the children more honest. How could it be otherwise when those who teach it violate all intellectual honesty? It is a pity that the psychologist did not have the intelligence or intellectual honesty to mention the true cause for the negative influence

of the Bible on the character of those who study it.

A workable description of a religion (not of religion in general) is the following: The sum of ideas, feelings and practices in a civilization which are related to God, a god or gods. The character of a religion changes with the changes in men's ideas, feelings (emotional reactions) and practices. In the flux of religion in the past we may distinguish two distinct stages: 1) the theophanic and 2) the theocratic. The type of religion which is evolving now may be designated as 3) the spiritual.

1) The theophanic stage is one in which God, the god or gods to whom the ideas, feelings and practices are related is regarded as communicating His will by supernatural means or signs in response to present inquiry on the part of the pious.

2) The theocratic stage is one in which the theophanic stage is interpreted as having been the golden age the religious experiences of which constitute the guides and the divine revelations of which the norms for all time.

3) In the spiritual stage both previous stages of religion are recognized as necessitated by man's limited knowledge of reality, but as representing man's attempt to form an indispensable adjustment to life, the type of adjustment becoming the more correct one with the growth in knowledge and experience.

The content of a religion in its first stage consists of a) magic, i.e., ideas etc. which have as their object bringing that part of the environment under control which cannot be brought by empiric means, and b) affirmation of worth of objects, places, events, qualities, ideals or tendencies in man and in his environment.

In the second stage a religion has the same two orders of content but a change is effected 1) in the conception as to the part

and nature of the environment which may be brought under control by magic means, and 2) in the objects etc. whose worth is affirmed.

In the third stage the order of magic is eliminated and its place is taken by mental phenomena which are to be controlled by such laws of the mind as have been discovered; the second order consists of a more conscious and concentrated emphasis on the order of worth-affirmations. This time the change in objects etc. whose worth is affirmed is recognized as a necessary principle of human growth. J

Prayer which may be defined as religion in action, varies in its function in correspondence with the variation in religion.

The basis of worth-affirmation is continuity and conservation, hence the tendency to cultural continuity and the discovery of a common element between the earliest and latest stages of a religion's evolution. This is both the psychological and the religious reason for the content of the past so far as it lends itself to assimilation with the latest mental and spiritual development.

(Spiritual will be used throughout of any mode of life or thought which is characterized by the tendency to reckon affirmatively with the aspect of worthwhileness.) V

In this third stage it does not matter how the metaphysical nature of God is conceived intellectually, though it is essential that some conception be held for the sake of intellectual integrity. (At this point name some of the outstanding concepts of God from a cognitive standpoint.) Of primary importance is the selection as worthwhile of those objects, places, etc. which by being recognized accepted and reckoned with as worthwhile are conducive to the enhancement of human life. J

The foregoing is the outline of the opening lecture of the course in Homiletics, I expect to give the coming year at the Seminary. If I will have the courage to complete the book in Judaism as a civili-

zation, that outline will be elaborated into the section dealing with the Religion of Israel, in place of the material which I have there now. That material is irrelevant and confusing, because it consists of essays written independently of the thesis which I am trying to develop in the book.

How the students of the Seminary will react to the course as outlined above it is difficult for me to prognosticate. There is no denying the fact that the congregations to which most or all of them are called to minister to are altogether unprepared for an evolutionary conception of Judaism. For the kind of work our graduates have to do the other courses in the Seminary are antiquated, and mine premature.

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Wednesday, September 11, 1929

On Monday at 2 P.M. I took part in the meeting of the Special Committee (of the Seminary Board) on Teachers Institute. That Committee hasn't met in years. Those who are on it do not take even a perfunctory interest in the TI. Whenever in former years that committee met I would come away so irritated and depressed that I was ready to throw up the job of principalship. The two people that would annoy me would be Judge Greenbaum and Sol Stroock. The former had no imagination for the task of training Jewish teachers other than that which he developed from his experience in his younger years as a public school teacher and in his later years as president of the Educational Alliance. The Sunday School was to him the last word in Jewish education and he couldn't understand why I didn't make it my business to have all the Jewish religious schools adopt the Sunday school program and accept our graduates who ought to make excellent Sunday school teachers as graduates. Stroock was appointed Chairman after Judge Greenbaum who had been the first chairman was found fault with by Schiff for not taking more in-

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terest in the TI. Stroock hasn't displayed any more interest than Greenbaum. Yet the two or three times he was present at the meetings he reacted snobbishly and obstructively to whatever I would suggest.

One of the earlier meetings took place in Stroock's office. I came exactly on time. The others who were supposed to come were late. When Stroock's secretary told him of my having come Stroock sent back word that I should wait. With each minute of waiting my anger rose at the treatment accorded me, and when ^{he} finally appeared I gave him a piece of my mind. This was many years ago, but these people never forget.

The occasion for this meeting was the question of finding the necessary funds to defray the cost of having Levine's courses at the TI taken over by the other members of the staff. When I arrived with Dinin at Warburg's office I found Adler and Unterberg discussing Marshall's critical condition. Stroock arrived a few minutes later, greeting only Adler and ignoring us until he got his information about Marshall. After a while Warburg came rushing in with Jonah Goldstein and Dr. Lowenstein trailing after him. However, much of a snob Warburg may be he certainly shows it less than Stroock, and acts with an affability that would disembarass the most shy.

At the meeting which lasted only about fifteen to twenty minutes I brought up the matter of Levine's illness and the need of finding \$3200 to make it possible for him to take a leave of absence. Without much ado Warburg moved that the money be granted (which means that he would supply it). Then came the question of finding \$500 outside of the budget to pay the rent of quarters at the Community House of Anshe Chesed for the use of the morning classes. Warburg suggested in all seriousness that we make use of the rooms of Temple Emanuel. I watched Adler to hear what reply he would make. He hemmed

and hawed and said nothing. When Warburg saw that his suggestion did not meet with Adler's and my approval he dropped it. My next request was for \$1000 to pay toward the ~~xxxxxxx~~ salary of a supervisor who should be appointed jointly by the United Synagogue and the TI to supervise four or five religious schools on the West Side. That did not meet with the approval of the Committee. Unterberg began to drone about his Jewish Education Association as engaged in the work of school supervision. He knows as much as I do about what his JEA is able or willing to do for the Jewish schools. He is being led by the nose and Semel is the one who does the leading. On top of Unterberg's objection came Stroock's and the matter was squashed. With that the meeting adjourned after Adler made his little speech about the advisability of the Committee meeting often. When I was going to make that speech at the beginning of the meeting Adler took advantage of a momentary interruption to remind me that my business was to bring up merely the specific purpose for which the meeting had been called.

Before I took part in the meeting Dinin again alluded to Benderly's systematic sabotaging the TI. He is so troubled that he actually loses sleep on account of it. The latest of Benderly's exploits is the following: A number of students who applied for admission to the TI before the summer were advised to take courses during the summer at Benderly's camp to be admitted to the morning course at the TI. When B. got to know them he found them promising and induced them to join his Kwuzah. He has the advantage of being able to offer these young people positions as private teachers and in schools. The TI is thus always left with the offal.

It looks as though it will have to come to open fight between me and him, despite all my overtures to him to cooperate with the TI and my efforts to conciliate in his behalf the members of the TI faculty.

At the meeting of the SAJ Board which took place at ? p.147 Rest. and which was very sparsely attended it was decided to retain the services of Pearlman, our present executive director. Wachman had been very anxious that we engage Sackler, but although I would have liked to see Sackler take hold of the publicity work, I would be on edge for fear that he would be incapable of performing the routine duties at the SAJ. I am therefore glad that the status quo in regard to the executive director will continue.

Louis Marshall's death which has seemed imminent since last week, coming on top of the tragic happenings in Palestine could not have been more untimely, or from the standpoint of angry Deity who had an old score to pay off to His people, more timely. If events will develop as I surmise it will be necessary for us Jews to defend our historic claims to Palestine against those of the Arabs, I can think of no one who could have done that better than Marshall. The service which he might have rendered us will be needed even more sorely than that which he gave at the Peace Conference to secure minority rights for our people in the East European countries.

On the other hand for himself he could not have chosen a more timely death. Having consummated the Agency he will go down in Jewish history as having done a heroic piece of work for which he will be ever remembered gratefully. He was as good a man and as good a Jew as the Jewish German laity could ever be expected to contribute to Jewish life. p.147

The various ideas that I have arrived at with regard to religion are beginning to mobilize in sufficient force to make me feel more hopeful about being able to marshal them forth in respectable array by the time I shall have to start the course in Homiletics. If the ~~result~~ outcome of that course will be a book on religion I shall be fully repaid for the strain and tension which I experience at the present time.

The following is a tentative scheme of chapters or lectures.

1. The evolution of religions (cf. Outline, p. 143)
2. The meaning of values, *summum bonum* and salvation
 - a. Wherein they are changing and wherein abiding.

(What one can best be demonstrated by what the lack of them implies as in Krutch Life Personality, Cooperation)

Literalism and symbolism - fact and poetry

3. What is a Spiritual religion
4. The relation of a religion to a civilization - in each of the three stages
5. Modern conceptions of God
6. What are the modern values to be integrated with any of the modern conceptions of God

Sovereignty of God a) The conscious attitude toward the spiritual (values) sacred and profane. b) Socialization. c) History as having meaning.

God as Helper a) The natural forces that support life. b) The element of cooperation in the natural order. c) The power of intelligence to transform environment. d) Social cooperation and good will.

e) Courage. f) The duty to be intelligent, justice.

God as Redeemer, etc.

Spiritual Religion

1. Characterized by a passion for facts (inquiry vs. faith) and an antipathy against illusions - present and past (historical criticism)
2. It treats ultimate facts as incapable of change, hence it is for man to change himself (Man ~~can~~ change himself individually and socially) self discipline
3. It regard no one method of adjustment as final and universal
4. It attaches more significance to the present and future than to the past. Its attitude toward tradition
5. Its values are not such as transcend the practical needs but as are immanent

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Sunday, September 15, 1929

Last week a young lady by the name Clyde Broughton, 51 W. 87 St. called with the object of finding out whether she can take courses in Judaism in order to prepare herself for conversion to Judaism. She is Methodist and is engaged to be married to a Jewish dentist. It is without his knowledge that she wants to join some class where she might learn something about Judaism. I advised her to join one of the Friedlaender Classes; in the meantime I gave her a list of books to read.

Milton Steinberg, now rabbi in Indianapolis, called last week to get permission to print copies of the Book of Readings. If I had had time I would have arranged a book of devotions and readings for special occasions. Such a book would enhance the service greatly and would solve the question of the prayer book. There is no sense of tampering with the prayer book. It is a historic relic and ex-

tremely limited in its ~~scope~~ scope of spiritual ideas and prayers. It is best to leave it alone, and use its ritual mainly as a framework for pertinent and inspiring prayers which might be changed from time to time. These renewable prayers should be put together into a supplementary prayer book together with a selection of the finest poetry and song both ancient and modern, Jewish and universal.

At the meeting of the TI Staff held last Thursday, Dinin pointed out that Benderly was unscrupulous in his methods of diverting students from the TI to his own groups. The preparatory class which was conducted partly with funds of the TI was advised by B. to take a summer course in his camp during the summer. Noting the best among them he induced them to join his groups instead of continuing at the Institute although they had made application before the summer to enter the Institute morning courses.

The TI is daily drifting into a more difficult position. With the child population attending Jewish schools practically at a standstill the teaching profession has theoretically reached the saturation point. The mortality of Jewish teachers is practically only by marriage in the case of women, and entrance into the practical professions in the case of men. With so limited a need there nevertheless exist today about four or five training schools, so called, which glut the teachers market with teachers who are acceptable to the school boards and rabbis especially if they demand less of a salary than those who have been holding positions for some time. Their knowledge or rather ignorance and lack of experience are not taken into consideration.

Until recently the Institute was able to count on Benderly's cooperation in having the Hebrew High School serve as a feeder for the Institute. But now that he takes the best pupils for his groups the Institute is in no position to compete with the other teacher

training schools on the score of producing more efficient teachers.

It seems that Benderly is carrying his autocracy to a point where it will be necessary for me to sever all ties of friendship with him and to call him to order for the high handed fashion in which he carries on his educational experiments in total disregard of and with the utmost contempt for the very people upon whom he depends for the success of those experiments. After the meeting of the TI faculty Brogin who is the principal of the Hebrew High School complained to me bitterly about the reckless fashion in which Benderly tries out all sorts of fanciful schemes in the Hebrew High School. Brogin said that he would give up his principalship of the High School if he were to feel certain that the school would continue after his leaving it. In fact he is certain that the school which it took him sixteen years of hard labor to build up would go to ruin the moment he resigned. He too implied that I ought to call Benderly to account.

This business of checking a runaway horse is not altogether to my liking but it seems that I shall have to go through with it.

I don't know whether to be glad or sorry that I find clay modelling enjoyable. It is so engrossing at times that I forget about everything else, my worries as well as my duties. Once I begin I find it hard to tear myself away from it. The result is that since I began dabbling in clay I must have spent about fifty hours which should have been devoted to reading and writing.

Living as I do in an intellectual desert the acquaintance-ship of Dr. F. Schneersohn has been to me a veritable oasis. He is a descendant of a long line of Hassidic Rabbis, the first one of whom founded the Hassidic sect dedicated to the cultivation of

a sort of intellectual mysticism. In addition he is a trained psychiatrist who has evolved a method of his own in which the long heredity of a penchant for the mystic is represented by an axiomatic assumption of the reality of personality. However sceptical^I may be as to the strictly scientific worth of such a procedure I am fascinated by the pragmatic conclusions which flow from that assumption. His analogical reasoning (and that is the main method by which he deduces his inferences) casts a spell which I presume is a sort of wish fulfillment with me. To hear a man of his type suggest the very thing I do in the article on Torah written up in this book to the effect that the dance normally belongs to worship, is evidence to me that at last I have found a man with whom I move in the same universe of discourse.

Sometime ago I tried to help him by having Spielberg and a few others extend to him a loan of \$1500 with which to open an office as a practitioner. He probably got others to give him an additional loan and he opened an office at 22 W. 88 St. I have no idea how he has been making out. But whenever he calls at my home he always leaves me enriched in ideas and religious inspiration. I invited him to Fridaynight supper last week. While I enjoyed every minute of his conversation and especially the new Hassidic melodies which he sang, the children were unable to understand him because he spoke in Yiddish for Lena's sake. (When I am alone with him we discuss in Hebrew.) They found it very trying to keep quiet. They have no idea of what it is to discipline themselves to learning to understand. Whatever doesn't come to them without effort is at once ruled out as undeserving of attention. Of course they are young children, yet in my opinion old enough to possess something of that cultural curiosity and respect for culture to be eager to adjust themselves to a new cultural situation. The fact that few if any people of culture come

to my house and that the entire environment in which we move is permeated by the most sterile of babbities, the babbity of first generation Americans, are far more potent influences with my children than all my efforts to civilize them.

Even my Judith who is more developed intellectually and esthetically than the others, has no sympathy with my attempt to show my family the finer side of Jewish life and thought through a person like Schneersohn. Although I have given her a reasonable world-outlook I have to be constantly watching that she shouldn't be seduced by the cynical negativism of the present day. In addition to the negative literature which comes her way there is a young man in our family whose baneful influence has spread like poison gas. I refer to Arthur Rubin. In my previous mention of him I do not indicate the cause which has rendered him a spiritually deleterious influence. He is a young man of keen intellectual power who has been thwarted by his father in the pursuit of his intellectual ambitions. He was offered various positions as instructor in philosophy or psychology, but his father wouldn't hear of it, because he wanted Arthur to go with him into the silk business. The father has a natural talent for business manipulation although intellectually he is little more than an infant. Business success is to him the only worthwhile achievement in life. It is the end to which all else, including the arts and professions, are the means. Religion is to him dread of evil consequences apt to ensue any departure from traditional practice. Movie slapstick is the top notch of the art he really enjoys. His wife, the mother of his three boys who are with him in business (including Arthur) died about fifteen years ago. As he values money success, so she valued social rank. In Arthur the hereditary influences of avarice and snobbery got the better of his cultural ambition without completely conquering it. This

frustrated ambition is revenging itself by sedulously destroying every kindly sentiment and spiritual attitude in as many of the young people in the family he can bring under his influence. He has corrupted the mind of his sister, Bertha, of his cousins, Miriam and Irving. This is why I do not like to see Judith in Irving's company. My suspicions were confirmed by Judith's remarks at the supper table tonight. She said that as far as she was concerned life was good enough without having any meaning or purpose. I was surprised to hear her speak in that vein, and it hurt me especially to have Naomi listen to her saying this. (Where Naomi gets her negativism is altogether a riddle to me). Judith then let the cat out of the bag when she remarked that the question we were discussing was her topic of conversation with Irving last Friday night.

The negative attitude finds expression in contempt for seriousness and in the apotheosis of the so called sense of humor. When you come down to it this sense of humor is ~~xxx~~ but another name for the ribald vilification of everything that the normal person regards as holy. I was glad however that I was able to turn the edge of both Judith's and Naomi's condemnation/^{of} seriousness by proving that the greatest humorists were those who sought to achieve a serious purpose. Socrates with his irony; Montaigne, Rabelais, Voltaire, Chesterton and Shaw -- in them all humor is the product of intense seriousness.

In one of the accounts of Marshall's life I read that he attributed a goodly part of his success to his retentive memory. In that he was undoubtedly right. A retentive memory is a pass key to all kinds of success. If I had that kind of a memory I would have ventured into fields of activity that I keep away from today. Such a memory would have made me a ~~ready~~ ready speaker. Had I been a ready

speaker bolted doors would not have kept me from the Zionist organization whose head I would have aspired to be. I never came to a gathering where I am not embarrassed by reason of my forgetting the names of people I know quite well. This embarrassment inhibits the flow of my ideas. This is why I shun public meetings and especially banquets.

Yesterday I tried to learn by heart a sonnet which is found in Wieman's Struggle of Religion with Truth. It took me about an hour and a half to learn it by heart and it is only with difficulty that I am able to recite it today. Should a few days pass without my repeating it I doubt whether I will recall more than one or two phrases.

This fact only emphasizes the truth of what I always insist on theoretically but can never live up to in practice, viz. that the system of approval and disapproval is unjust in the light of the fact that everyone is what he is by reason of gifts or failings beyond his control. There is as much sense in praising Marshall for becoming great through his ~~xxxxx~~ retentive memory as there is for blaming me for remaining mediocre on account of my treacherous memory. And should we not go a step further and withhold all praise and blame for traits of character. Why should I blame my brother-in-law Edward for being money mad and Max for being a finicky Philistine or praise Jacob for being public spirited and democratic in his tastes and Isidor for his gentlemanliness and keen sympathy with the suffering?

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Monday, September 16, 1929

This morning I met a large group of Seminary students for the purpose of helping them prepare the sermons which they will have to preach in the various communities during the coming holidays. Fortunately in the course of my reading and thinking during the summer I thought of a number of subjects for holiday sermons. Otherwise I would have found it difficult to elicit any ideas from the men themselves. Much as I try to develop in them a certain degree of co-operative thinking I do not seem to succeed. Outside of one or two men like Eisenstein and Peter Halpern, they come with absolutely blank minds and refuse to exert themselves mentally.

This afternoon I attended the meeting of a committee organized by the United Synagogue to take charge of the special page and supplement in the Tribune, that page to be devoted to the United Synagogue articles and news. Israel Goldstein had been appointed chairman. The others present were Elias Margolis, Sam Cohn, Louis Finkelstein and Mrs. Spiegel. Before Mrs. Spiegel came into the room Margolis held forth in a violent tone in his determination not to serve on the committee if Mrs. Spiegel will be on it. After she entered the room he took part in the discussion and acted as though he had never mentioned a word about Mrs. Spiegel.

The Palestine situation worries me a good deal. One in my position is expected to put up a bold front and make believe that he is unperturbed. If vested interests determine a person's attitude, I should certainly be the last person in the world to entertain any doubts as to the outcome of the current events in Palestine. My entire Jewish program which I have been at work on for the last fifteen or twenty years is postulated on a Jewish Palestine. Yet I cannot help feeling a ~~xx~~ extremely apprehensive. What I heard today from

Finkelstein who returned recently from London was not very encouraging. According to him the majority of Englishmen are opposed to the Mandate. He too feels as I do about the importance of negotiating with the Arabs. To suggest that now to any of our people one runs the danger of being regarded as a traitor. The mere mention of such a suggestion aroused the resentment of the Seminary students with whom he discussed the Palestine situation.

* * *

Tuesday, September 17, 1929

I had been in hopes that I would at last be able to publish the book on Judaism as a civilization when I discovered that the part which treated the reconstruction of religion was all awry. The chapters of which it consisted had originally been separate essays that I tried to fit into the rest of the book. Despite my efforts to whittle them into shape with the rest of the contents they remained a ~~misfit~~ misfit. I am therefore obliged to start thinking anew about the religious aspect of the Jewish civilization. The temptation to make use of the material which I am at work on for the Seminary course this year will have to be resisted. Which means that I have to formulate two distinct plans of expounding the same ideas. The plan given on p. 148 will do for the Seminary course but for the book I have to resort to a different approach. I shall try to work out the approach right now.

Introd. The cultural conception of Judaism, in contrast with the Orthodox and Reform, calls for a carefully reasoned orientation concerning the place of religion (or the complex of values related to the God-idea) to the rest of a civilization's content. Such an orientation is a newly felt need in modern life. In the past each civilization had its definite set of religious values which the adherents of that civilization were expected to conform to in the

same way as they were expected to use the language of that civilization. Now that we postulate religious tolerance we seem to take for granted that the religious values are not an integral part of any particular civilization. They belong to all civilizations since they are meant for all civilizations. Therefore one is at liberty to live in a civilization and to adopt whatever religion appeals to his taste. The difference between various systems of religious values according to this assumption is like the difference between romantic and realistic art. Accordingly a person may be a Frenchman by civilization and a Christian, Mohammedan, Buddhist, ~~Theosophist~~ theosophist ~~or~~ by religion or an atheist altogether. This sounds plausible in theory but is unworkable in practice. It is this same ~~box~~ theory which has led modern nationalist or secularist Jews to assume that one may be a Jew by civilization and a Christian by religion. That ~~and~~ they may be atheists goes without saying.

We do not want to lose the prize of religious tolerance. Any system of reasoning that will reason us out of tolerance will inevitably repeat traditional postulates with which progressive mankind has decided definitely to break. It is only the Orthodox religionist who can afford to deny tolerance as an ultimate and desirable ideal, and he does deny. He reluctantly accepts tolerance as a provisional measure in an erring world, because mankind has arrived at a point where the exercise of intolerance would lead to internecine warfare. The Orthodox Jew or the Orthodox Christian accepts tolerance not as part of his own religion but as a necessity forced on him by the non-Orthodox. Tolerance being today with most people a modus vivendi instead of an ethical ideal does not require to be integrated with the rest of one's world outlook. But if it is to be raised to the level of an ethical ideal it must in some way be integrated with the other spiritual values. Or to put it more correctly,

the other spiritual values, be they ethical or religious, must henceforth be so conceived as to permit the ideal of tolerance to find a place among them. Certainly no revelational conception of religion is compatible with that ideal. It is only a naturalistic and evolutionary conception ^{of} religion which can consistently give a person the choice of either accepting, modifying or repudiating particular religion. Reform Judaism being based on an evolutionary conception of the Jewish religion should and does assume that every one has a right to worship and think of God as he chooses. Yet it upholds the Jewish religion as the "truest form of ~~the~~ truth," and declares itself called upon to convert other religionists to the Jewish religion. In a sense all missionary activity however ironically conducted is a form of intolerance. This is not said in condemnation of missionary activity but to indicate that we have to do a good deal of hard thinking to arrive at a satisfactory conception of the ideal of tolerance before we attempt to reevaluate our religious values with a view to giving that ideal a place among them.

Tolerance does not mean the refusal to declare any one to be mistaken. It means recognizing the right to be mistaken. But even that right is not unlimited. The captain of a ship cannot allow his subordinate to exercise the right to be mistaken. Even a scientific organization cannot afford to allow any of its members to be so mistaken in his views as to reflect on their aim to be scientific. Tolerance therefore means granting one the right to sever himself from any affiliation which demands subscribing to a certain idea, ideals or religious values. But if refusing to sever himself from an affiliation which is identified with particular tendencies or values is ~~he~~ able to prove to the satisfaction of his own reason and conscience that his place is within that affiliation, it is the height of intolerance on the part of the group to read him out of it. These

reflections indicate that the ideal of tolerance is not one that can be applied to all situations and relationships. In situations where immediate action is called for, and cooperation is a matter of life and death tolerance as an ideal is out of place. But in relationships where the consequences of error are not so immediate and serious as to injure life and well being beyond rectification, the right to be mistaken must be recognized as valid.

Applying this principle to Jewish life, so long as a Jew is satisfied in his own conscience that he can be a good Jew without accepting any of the traditional religious values or even ~~without~~ modernist religious values, those of us who look upon tolerance as a desirable ideal must concede to him the right to call himself a Jew, though in our opinion he is mistaken. But if we adjudge him as mistaken we ought to get up some criteria as to what should be the Jewish attitude, toward religion. These criteria must be based upon an evolutionary conception of the Jewish traditional religion and compatible with the foregoing definition of tolerance.

Assuming that the Jewish traditional religion has passed through the theophanic and theocratic stage the questions to be answered are: 1) Is it essential to Jewish civilization that a new stage be evolved in the religious values, assuming that it is possible, and 2) what form shall that new stage take?

The answer to the first question calls for a psychological appreciation of the place of religion in a civilization. From a psychological standpoint the element of value which inheres in religion from the very beginning is the permanent because the indispensable element. The values stressed are 1) The significance (for the collective life of those who live by a civilization) of the turning points in the lives of the individual members and of the natural phenomena that affect the food supply of the people. 2) The signifi-

cance of the nation as a living and continuing entity. A civilization in which the objects named are not treated as significant is without the principal occasions for the creation of content. It can evolve neither literature, history or social ideals or the arts. From a psychological standpoint every civilization should have its religion, the theory of which should be universal and the practice based upon the environmental and historical factors pertaining to the civilization, that is to say, the aspect of significance or worth as such should be based upon such conceptions of reality and of human life as would apply to any place or time, but the things which should be celebrated in the rationale it evolves for the fact of significance as such, and of folk character in the particular things it holds up as significant and the means and ways it employs to express their significance.

This psychologic principle should be used to determine which civilization developed normally, i.e., according to the laws of human nature and which ran counter to human nature. All primitive civilizations were from this standpoint normal insofar as they were based upon common territorial interests. When imperialism began its career there arose the problem as to what shall be the object to be celebrated as significant (At this point I will introduce the printed articles on the development of Christianity) The method of the Jewish civilization is in keeping with psychological principles. This leads to the answer to the second question.

The new stage of Jewish religion is to be the spiritual. That means that every Jew should have some working conception of God which will enable him to entertain an ~~affirmation~~ affirmative attitude to the significance of life. It will help us experience the continuity of Jewish civilization if we can discover in some of the outstanding traditional conceptions of God implications that stress

the universal element of worth. (At this point comes the exposition of the attributes of God as sovereign, helper and redeemer).

The particular Jewish folk expression of these universal values will be discussed under the heading Torah where it properly belongs.

I began writing the foregoing outline at about 10:00 ~~xxx~~ this evening. It is now 1:45. When I started writing I had no idea of what I was going to say. I simply let my mind work in the same way as when I find myself in a group of students who are mentally wide awake. Except for the rather involved ?p.158 about tolerance (which, by the way, ought to make an excellent topic for a magazine article) I am pleased with the arrangement into which my ideas on religion have managed to fall.

* * *

Wednesday, September 18, 1929

John Topfer is a young man of about 30 who was graduated from the Jewish Institute of Religion about a year ago as rabbi and was granted a traveling scholarship of \$1,000 to spend a year in Palestine. He was engaged the year before last by the SAJ to conduct a young people's group. He had been so highly recommended by Lubell whose boys he had taught Hebrew and Bible that I expected wonders from him. Now I suspect that the reason he was so popular with the adolescents was that he shared their negativism in matters Jewish. In any case he succeeded very little in the way of implanting Judaism in those he was supposed to teach or influence. One of the Lubell boys, Benedict, the son of Sam Lubell, who was the first and so far the only man who said he would have been the happiest person in the world if his son would be willing to go into the rabbinate, refused in a most unmannerly fashion (though he is otherwise

reported to be gentlemanly) the invitation to read the "aftorah on one of the Sabbaths last year, indicating that he meant this refusal to hold good permanently. And this B_enedict had come under Tepfer's influence! Of course I cannot be sure it is Tepfer's fault, for Bened_ict has fallen under the spell of Irwin Edman of Columbia and Edman, like Morris R. Cohen, is or had been poisoning the minds of the Jewish boys against Judaism. Again I am ~~xxx~~ basing my inference in the case of Edman not upon direct but only upon circumstantial evidence.

Tepfer came to see me yesterday bout a possible opening in the Friedlaender Classes. I was very much interested in what he had to say about Palestine. The following is the summary of what he reported. Palestine harbors all types of Jewish character from the most corrupt to the most ideal. The worst Jews are to be found among those born and bred in Palestine. They include the greedy money lenders of Jerusalem who outshylock Shylock. With that greed there goes a superstitious religiosity in the ritual observances that does not in the least affect their dealings with human beings. Their unscrupulousness is but an accentuated form of the general dishonesty and unreliability of the majority of Jewish business people and workers in Palestine. The second generation of Jews in Jerusalem the sons of Jewish orientals, are crass materialists. Their ambition is to go either to London or to Paris. The second generation of those who settled in the Baron's Colonies are still under the influence of the Alliance. Tepfer mentioned a case where they refused to speak anything but French or English. The most flagrant instance of moral corruption is that which happened recently in Binyaminah. A young worker had delivered to his comrade a talk on socialism. The next day a group of young Jewish natives tied him to the tail of a horse and had him dragged through the streets while men, women and young

folk stood on the sidewalks and laughed. Embezzlement of funds and high-handed methods of political graft are by no means uncommon. The Administration of Tel Aviv has been shorn of its authority to spend funds by the Arab governor of Jaffa because the accountant discovered that the books were manipulated to cover thefts. The village Montefiore where Tepfer has relatives, was for a long time governed by a gang that diverted the taxes into their own pockets instead of using them to build roads and supply water.

Only in the Emek and Galil colonies does one meet with genuine idealism that is not self-conscious. Tepfer spoke in the most glowing terms of Ben-Zion as an exception to the general run of socialist leaders who are venal and dishonest.

The exploitation in which Jews engage is confined to Jews themselves. The Arab is now dealt with honestly and has profited tremendously by the Jewish settlement in Palestine. Yet the British officials are entirely on the side of the Arabs and not ~~xx~~ alone the government officials but also the prominent Englishmen. In a conversation with Tepfer Bishop Danly who is a fine Hebrew scholar and who translated Klausner's book on Jesus, pounded on the table as he spoke feelingly of his refusing to be a party to the exploitation of the Arab majority by an ambitious Jewish minority. According to Ben-Zion the reason for the English antipathy against the Jews is to be found in Jewish aloofness. According to Magnes it is the English who keep aloof. The American school of Archaeology headed until recently by Albright, seldom or never employed Jews either in the work of digging, attendance or even in hiring automobiles to make the trips. And Albright was regarded as the best among the Goyim because he claimed to preserve an attitude of neutrality in his relations to Jews and Arabs.

The longer Tepfer stayed in Palestine the less he cared to remain there. Withal that if he were a rich man, he said, he would spend millions to upbuild the Land, because it is the only place where one can be a Jew. He entertains no hope whatever as to the possibility of cultivating Jewish life in the Diaspora, even with Palestine successful. How he can enter the rabbinate (which he now says it was priggish of him formerly to treat with contempt) holding such views as he does is difficult to account for from a logical standpoint, but altogether too easy to explain from a practical standpoint. He is married and has to make a living. The rabbinate offers him the only opportunity to make a living, ergo, be a rabbi. Certainly the congregation in Freeport which will probably engage him will not probe deeply into his soul to learn of his attitude toward his calling. The congregation consists of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative Jews. The understanding is that irrespective of what the rabbi believes he should do nothing that would offend any of the three groups. If he were to ride on the Sabbath or be seen eating in a gentile restaurant the congregation would lose the Orthodox trade.

* * *

Thursday, September 19, 1929

At the meeting of the Teachers Institute faculty this morning the principal subject of discussion was the failure of the Hebrew High School graduates to pass the entrance examination, and of the "Mekinah" or preparatory class which was conducted last year jointly by the Institute and the Bureau as a Freshman class to pass the examinations for the sophomore. Everyone who spoke (except Bragin who is the principal of the Hebrew High School) myself included, denounced Benderly for insisting upon having his way though it was at the cost of hundreds of boys and girls being miseducated. I told the Faculty I was determined to challenge Benderly's absolutist policy.

I called him up this afternoon to arrange for a conference with him. Having had occasion to be in the neighborhood he suggested that he would come up to the house. This offer of his at once disarmed me, for how could I declare war against him in my own house, and then have him eat dinner with me? And when he came what else could I do but show him the portrait of father which I modeled? Finally I launched forth with my complaint against the lack of knowledge displayed by the graduates of the Hebrew High School. Instead of replying, as I had expected, that he knew all that there was to be known about running a Hebrew High School and that he resented the meddling of the TI in his affairs, and that he had a right to do whatever he thought best, etc., he not only admitted that the Hebrew High School courses were unsatisfactory but added that he too was shocked last year when he took the "Mekinah" in hand to find how little they knew of things Jewish. Since then he had the same opinion of the High School classes as the TI faculty there was nothing left for me to do but to suggest that a joint committee consisting of three representing the Hebrew High School Faculty and three representing the TI Faculty take up the problem of the curriculum of the Hebrew High School classes with a view to raising the standards of the students who intend to enter the TI. Dr. Benderly suggested that not all the graduates of the Talmud Torah schools be given the same curriculum. They ought to be divided according to him ~~in~~ into two groups, and only the group of those who seemed promising ought to be given an intensive curriculum of studies.

I reported this conference to the TI Faculty tonight after the opening exercises. They were very pleased to hear that Benderly was open to suggestion, but sceptical as to whether he meant it.

Bavli

~~Reak~~ said "It's too good to be true." Personally I believe their suspicions are unwarranted. Whatever one may say of Benderly as an absolutist or as holding his co-workers in contempt (largely

their incompetence is to blame for that) I will not permit anyone to question his honesty.

At the opening exercises of the TI tonight (which I conducted for the twenty first time) I spoke in English. My enthusiasm about conversing in Hebrew is at present at a low ebb. Even Benderly who originally was fanatical on the question of Ibrit B'Ibrit and who was regarded fifteen years ago as the father of that method in this country said to me tonight as he had said many times before, that the insistence upon Hebrew prattling is largely responsible for the failure of the Jewish training in the Hebrew schools. But he prefaced this confession of his with the phrase *Hei*. When I asked him "Why not proclaim it?" he answered that the Vogelsteins and other assimilators would exult and say, "Aha, haven't I told you that before?"

In the talk which I gave to the students I pointed out that it is the function of the TI to make of them Jews by conviction, assuming that they were already Jews by habit. Unlike other training schools we wanted them to air to us their doubts and questions, and neither to be ashamed or afraid of them. We expect that they would become convinced Jews by learning to appreciate the past as containing permanent values and therefore not to be ignored or forgotten, and by learning to realize that Jewish life gives promise of being creative and productive in the future. This creativity consists of a) upbuilding Palestine; b) renaissance of language letters and arts, and c) reconstruction of ethical and religious values. Levine complimented me highly on my remarks.

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Saturday night, September 21, 1929

There were about 65 people present at the services this morning. I did not preach, but, as on the previous two Sabbaths, I read the translation of the ⁴⁴afterah instead. I repeated the innovation I

introduced last week, that of reading a selection dealing with the Sabbath immediately after the Mussaph Kedushah, in place of p 163 . I also read the translation of the 27th Psalm before p 163 .

From the standpoint I occupy with regard to Jewish religion (as distinct from Judaism) I maintain that we should avail ourselves as much as possible of whatever positive contributions the Reformists have made to the ritual and worship. In the Union Prayer Book, and in the Liberal Prayer Book there are a few excellent prayers which should be incorporated into the improved system of worship that we Jews ought ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to evolve. The fact that the Reformists have no sense of proportion and regard the few improvements in ritual as a great spiritual achievement and a successful service as the sum and substance of Judaism should not hinder us from utilizing such material of theirs as would enhance our worship.

One of the measures adopted by the new administration of the SAJ under Klein's chairmanship is the formation of an executive committee that will meet frequently and discuss the plans of the organization. This committee met for the first time this year (5689-90) this afternoon at my house. Present were Klein, Rosenblatt, Wachman, Joe Levy and the exec. sec'y, Pearlman. The matters I brought were a) The physical care of the building; b) Regulations governing bar and bas mizvah celebrations so that I be expected to speak to the confirmant only upon his or her meeting certain requirements of knowledge and synagogue attendance. c) Membership- This led to the suggestion made by Rosenblatt that I go/^{easy}with some of the innovations I am introducing into the service. He is of the belief that the violent character of some of these innovations is keeping away a number of people who might become members. He thought, for example, that while the prayer which I had introduced into the Mussaph service was very

appropriate it should not have been recited in place of p 16³ but after the conclusion of the Amidah. From this he passed over to the question of the Amidah, very tactfully suggesting that I find some way of satisfying those who are made unhappy by the elimination of the Kol Nidre ritual. He thought that I might so change the text as to retain the words "Kol Nidre" and have the rest of the passage voice sentiments or prayers which would not offend one's sense of spiritual propriety. In fact I myself had thought of such a possibility but I could not devise any substitute text which would go with the words Kol Nidre. I therefore made a counter suggestion, to announce frankly that since there are some who insist upon the Kol Nidre ritual, those of us who conscientiously object to reciting it are nevertheless willing to meet the scruples of the others by asking the Cantor to lead them in that ritual. For themselves they want him to lead them in the recital of the 137th Psalm. Joe Levy thought that I ought not to ~~yield~~ yield to that extent because it would be like retreating from the position I had taken. Lena who heard the discussion charged me afterwards with being as changeable as the weather. In my own mind I am satisfied that a sense of propriety calls for compromise in a matter of such trifling importance, trifling because the consequences neither of saying or of omitting Kol Nidre go further than the act itself. On the other hand I would sooner think of giving up the SAJ altogether than surrender the gain I have achieved in having the congregation say instead of
p 16⁴ the formula .

There called tonight a Rabbi Metz, a graduate of the Seminary of the class of 1918. As a student he stood out from the rest by reason of his knowledge of Talmud(having attended the Yeshivah before he entered the Seminary) and of his possessing a degree of intelligence and wit usually wanting in the Seminary students. In addition he won

my heart by his intellectual honesty and his spiritual yearning. Being at the height of doubt and discontent when the Seminary conferred upon him the rabbinical degree, he got married and went into the clothing business with his father-in-law instead of accepting a rabbinical post. He settled in Pittsburgh and lived there till recently when he gave up business. His work was that of traveling salesman for his firm. His intellectual and spiritual interests did not altogether die down. He would conduct a class of adults in Talmud and he would preach occasionally. More than that, of course, his work would not permit him. Finally, the suppressed yearning after intellectual and spiritual pursuits got the better of him. He took his family, a wife and three children, to Miami and he is here now trying to find a way of reinstating himself in the calling which he abandoned.

He is a striking example of an unintegrated type of mind. He will identify himself with the experience of the savage who sacrificed himself for his god, and he can appreciate thoroughly and even fully agree with Krutch's destructive negativism. It occurred to me that the best thing for him to do was to steep himself in John Dewey's writings which will help him work out a method of thought that will deliver him from the diseases of conceptualism and hypostasis.

As in his student days, he still has a ~~way~~ way of using striking analogies. In his conversation he compared the congregations led by the graduates of our Seminary to the congregations of the dead which according to popular belief of former days were supposed to assemble in the dark of night in the synagogue and conduct services in the same way as the living do during the day, even to the extent of having their quarrels about the Yahrzeits. "The congregations led by our graduates," he said, "go all through the motions of live congregations. The only trouble is they are congregations of people spiritually dead."

Yesterday morning in the course of the discussion I had with the Seminary students concerning the theme of responsibility I mentioned in passing that insofar as the Zionist movement has failed to bring out the better side of the Arab nature it has failed to live up to the highest principle of the spiritual life. This of course aroused tremendous opposition on the part of some of the men. One man, especially, made an impression on me when he said that Feisal who was a representative of the Arabs, signed his name to the treaty recognizing Jewish rights to Palestine.

But if I have of late been suffering from an attack of defeatism, there could not have been administered to me a better tonic than the August-September number of the New Judea. Lord Melchett's speech revived my drooping spirit. I cannot recall anything said by any of our people in recent times that in my opinion can match his words for clarity, courage and vision. His speech is the equal (from the standpoint of effectiveness) of ~~any~~ any of the consolatory messages of the anonymous prophets. No less beautiful and infinitely more specific and pointed than the ~~prophets~~ are Melchett's ringing words "There is no power on earth great enough to stop the march of Israel back into Palestine." (The New Judea, p. 205, column 2)

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Sunday, September 22, 1929

I began today my courses on religion at the TI. It is unfortunate that I cannot work with sufficient rapidity to plan out these courses carefully with the view of publishing a book on how to present the problem of Jewish religion to young folks. The main theses which I developed with the Senior class dealt with what constitutes the proper approach to the study of the authoritative literature of Israel. So long as that literature was believed to derive its authority from its supernatural character, it was regarded as containing the last word in religion and morality. Adopting however, as we do, the evolutionary

conception of that literature our task consists in finding anticipatory intuitions of what we now accept as the ethical and spiritual norms, norms evolved out of the general experience of the human race.

In the Junior class I developed the thesis that Jewish religion has become differentiated as a subject of study apart from the rest of the content of Jewish life and thought because the entire complex of conduct, emotions and ideas associated with the belief in God is being challenged. The essence of that challenge consists in questioning the reliability of the tradition that the reality of God has been demonstrated by His self-revelation and his revelation of His will to man. The challenge is being met by a study of religion from a philosophic, psychological and historical point of view.

This is as far as I got with the class. Year in and year out after the first lesson or two I give in religion one or a group of students would come to me complaining that my ideas shock them. The same thing happened today. This time it was Rudelnik who said that the students were totally unprepared for such ideas as I expressed. These ideas should have been inculcated in their minds as far back as the Talmud Torah years.

The difficulty I am experiencing in writing out in full the part of the book which is to deal with the religion of Israel is driving me insane. Why should I have to toil over a task which has been so excellently performed by Julian Huxley in his book "Religion Without Revelation." That book expresses so clearly and trenchantly what I am struggling to articulate that I wish I could use it as a text book both in the Seminary and in the Institute. Yet if I were to attempt to introduce it as a text book I would be set upon by the whole pack of rabbinical and lay hounds regardless of the particular creed they subscribed to. It isn't that I am afraid of having to give up my liveli-

hood. What I am certain is that the effect would be a total victory for the forces of reaction. The only time I would be prepared to lose my livelihood for the sake of my convictions would be if my convictions would get a chance to be heard. That can only be the case if I write them out with the necessary clarity and power to make an impression. I would lay down my life if I knew that by such a sacrifice I could indite a clear and compelling statement of my views. And why can't I do what Julian Huxley did? Because I haven't his heredity. In my immediate ancestry there were no Thomas Huxleys, and Matthew Arnolds and Mrs. Humphrey Wards. My ancestry consists of very ordinary folk who never achieved distinction in learning, business or saintliness. Why then do I not accept my limitations and try to lead a calm and peaceful inner life instead of forever boiling within like a volcano?

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Tuesday, September 24, 1929

As I came to the Seminary yesterday to attend the Faculty meeting scheduled for three o'clock Dr. Adler apprised those of us who were present of the fact that working men were about ~~the~~ to place the cornerstone of the new Seminary buildings. He asked us to go with him to watch the cornerstone being swung into place. We stood on the corner of Broadway and ~~122x~~ 122nd St. for about half hour chatting about different things and then returned to the Faculty room of the old building.

The meeting opened with a few remarks by Adler concerning the last days of Louis Marshall. According to Adler's account Marshall never seemed to be in better health than on his trip to Europe and all through the days of the Zurich conference. It was in the course of that trip that Marshall informed Adler that he had just written a twenty-eight page letter to Rosenwald about the importance of strengthening the cause of Jewish education by making it possible for

the Seminary to do more effective work. In response to that letter Rosenwald donated \$500,000 to the Seminary in memory of Marshall.

Today I attended Marshall's funeral at the new Temple Emanuel. The building impressed me more as a lavish display of wealth than as expression of esthetic taste or spiritual yearning. It is devoid of artistry, humility and aspiration. I could not but think of the stage temples that are often seen in operas depicting the worship of ancient oriental gods. The music was in keeping with the operatic effect which the building had on me. Marmar is written over every square inch of wall space. The temple just glitters with gold. The mechanical contrivances whereby the voices of the rabbis could be plainly heard throughout the huge structure was another of those histrionic features that made me feel as though I was witnessing once again Reinhardt's production of the Miracle.

When I compared the vastness and the cost of the structure, the effort that went into the production of the organ, orchestra and choir music with the few biblical verses which constituted the entire service, it seemed to me as though a whole museum were built to preserve a few simple flowers dried between leaves. The poverty and sterility of Jewish religion were strikingly conspicuous on this occasion. Is it worth while I asked myself, to build such gorgeous and expensive temples to hear those few timeworn verses? Are these verses written centuries ago all that Jewish religion has been able to offer us when facing the problem of death? Neither high philosophy or stirring poetry or intoxicating music have we Jews produced since those ancient days wherewith the articulate or satisfy the yearning to catch the meaning of death in life and of life in death.

I learned of a curious incident in connection with the funeral. Among the honorary pallbearers Rabbi M. Z. Margolies, the rabbi of the 85 St. Congregation, was invited as representative of Orthodox Jewry.

